OUR FREEDOM FIGHTERS
(1562—1947)

Twentyone Great Lives

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G. ALLANA

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To

My Father

BY THE SAME AUTHOR

1. Presenting Pakistani Poetry.
2. Love Tales of The East.
   (Also translated into Bengali, Urdu, Sindhi.)
3. Some of My Yesterdays.
   (Also Translated into Urdu, Sindhi.)
4. Pakistan Movement : Historic Documents.
   (Compiled and Edited.)
5. Incense and Echoes.
   (Selected Poems.)
6. The Silent Voices of Intuition.
7. Pen-Portraits of Painters.
8. Pen-Portraits of Musicians.

PREFACE

When a people are in the grip of overpowering odds, they begin to struggle for a way out. History often brings to the fore at such periods a national hero, who, having supreme confidence in the cause he advocates, leads his people to ultimate triumph and glory. This has been true of our own history, and it is, therefore, that we pay homage and tribute to our heroes, who fought for our freedom and enabled us ultimately to establish our own homeland—Pakistan.

The hero in history is not an isolated phenomenon, and his life and work cannot be viewed divorced from the times in which he lived. A proper understanding and appraisal of his contemporary scene thus becomes essential, in order to correctly assess the hero's impact and influence on the course of history. All those great ones, whose lives are depicted in the pages of this book, were patriots, in whose hearts there burnt the flame of freedom. Mass movements are important, but it is not through them that a historical destiny is fulfilled. These popular forces, of course, help to produce a hero, who becomes the symbol of what the masses stand for, and he comes to be accepted by them as their champion and spokesman.

This book contains the biographies of twentyone such freedom fighters, to whom we stand eternally indebted. The list of great lives recounted here does not claim to be exhaustive; it is merely an illustrative collection of the lives of some of those that have been outstanding leaders in the struggle for our freedom, and who are no more with us. I sincerely hope that other writers, historians and scholars will publish the lives of others, who have also won an immortal place in our national history as our freedom fighters.

In presenting in a chronological order the lives of our freedom fighters, I have endeavoured to trace the thought-patterns of the Muslims of India in the social, economic and political fields, which gradually crystallised their ideas into what was to be the ultimate goal and destiny of the Muslims as a nation. Important events and movements, which accelerated our march towards our final destination, have been traced from the days of Mujaddid-al Alpha-e Thani to the establishment of Pakistan.

From personal experience, I am able to state that in some cases, due to lack of adequate and sufficient material, it was not possible for me to write on the lives of some of our freedom fighters, whom I would have liked to include in this collection. I am sure, others better qualified than myself would have been able to surmount this difficulty.

It has been my good fortune that I had opportunities of meeting eight out of these twentyone freedom fighters. Personal reminiscences connected with these meetings are narrated in the appropriate chapters.

My grateful thanks are due to the authors of those books, from which I have cited extracts. The Bibliography of 165 such books is given at the end of this book.

G. ALLANA

Al-Barakat,
307, Garden West,
Karachi.

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THE STRUGGLE FOR OUR FREEDOM

A Brief Survey

The establishment of Pakistan as an independent and sovereign state was indeed a unique phenomenon. It was the culmination of a historical movement, that won for us our freedom, enabling us to live our life as an independent nation. The history of our struggle for freedom has been a dialectic process, during the course of which Muslims of this sub-continent became conscious of their destiny, learnt to fearlessly voice their political demands, and their will to live as a separate nation found its final articulation. Some political philosophers have said that history is primarily concerned with the activities of individuals, whose life and work have been the main instruments for the writing of history. Like other nations, we also have our heroes of history, without whom the present may not have been what it actually is today. In reading their lives, we discover the thought expressed in their constant endeavour, and in discovering that thought we already begin to have a better understanding of the entire historical process.

A perusal of our history reveals the reasons actually operating in the course of events, as it also makes clear what was being achieved and how it was brought about. During the course of this investigation, one cannot fail to observe that we succeeded because of the life of the "spirit", whose chief characteristic according to Hegel is self-movement or "freedom", that runs like a silken thread, holding the beads of the rosary together. Just as spirituality has many grades or levels, so also is freedom a matter of degree. The development of our "spirit" has always been a measure of progressive achievement of our freedom. The full realisation of unfettered national freedom has been the goal and aim of our history.

When we inquire as to how our goal was achieved, we realise that it was by means of "will", which is, after all, the

only method of achieving anything spiritual. The individual and collective will of human beings is the pen that writes the books of history. Our destiny has been worked out not by the passions and needs generated by private aims and selfish desires, but by the enlightened and heroic actions of our men of destiny. They had an insight into the needs of their times, although to some of them the larger significance of their own actions may not have been quite clear. Further, it must be said to their credit that they made their private goals coincide with the development of freedom.

The great men of our history have contributed to the development of the human spirit by conscious striving to establish our freedom. Freedom is not the mere expression of individual caprice, but is possible only through "discipline". The ethical importance of a freedom movement depends upon the form and level of spirituality, which has been possible for it to achieve. In the case of a social group based on religion, its culture and religion play an important role in crystallising its concept of freedom and "spirit".

The Muslims of this subcontinent had their own distinctive culture, for the understanding of which no element is more significant than the understanding of their religion. According to Hegel, religion is "the sphere in which a nation gives itself the definition of that which it regards as the True." The work of our heroes represents stages in the historical development of our struggle, which gave rise to the human spirit, leading us to the progressive social organisation of freedom.

The history of our freedom movement has been a developing process and, broadly speaking, can be divided into three parts. The first was the phase when we tried to forge unity among the Muslims by making them realise the necessity of looking upon Islamic polity as one and indivisible. The second phase coincides with the emergence of a people who, although having their homes thousands of miles away from India, came to acquire sovereign control over the destinies of India. Then came the British, and the mounting opposition against the British culminated in the rebellion of 1857, which was in a sense a spontaneous rebellion of the oppressed, shaking the foundation of the British Rule with the force of a volcanic eruption. The third phase started soon thereafter, and continued

until 1947, when we won our independence, and Pakistan came to be established as a free and sovereign state. During all these three periods, the fight for freedom was relentlessly waged by our people, led by reformers, rebels and revolutionaries. Reformers preached a way of life which, according to them would regenerate the Muslim nation, and make it realise its ultimate destiny. The rebels took up the sword against the British to wrest power from their hands and to force them to leave the shores of India. The revolutionaries propounded political theories and suggested revolutionary alternatives, when the British would be compelled, by the force of circumstances, to hand over power to the peoples of India. The methods and fields of activity of the leaders in these three distinct categories may have been different, but their goal was common, namely, the freedom of the Muslim nation. If the fight for freedom by our historical individuals before the advent of the British represents the inarticulate childhood of the spirit of our freedom movement, the struggle by such heroes of the subsequent periods may well be said to represent the poetic adolescence and the prosaic manhood of our will to live as a free nation.

The freedom that our nation enjoys today is the product of a great historical process, which found its fulfilment in the first half of the twentieth century. Through the lives of our heroes of history, we can show retrospectively how the present grew out of the past as its inevitable outcome. The consciousness of our destiny as a separate nation is a recurring phenomenon in our long and sustained struggle for freedom, and out of this grew the consciousness of our right of self-determination. It was not an isolated event, but merely an outcome of a historical world force. The American and French Revolutions had thundered from the rooftops of the world for the right of national self-determination.

It is not through the movements of masses that history works itself out, but they are merely instrumental in producing the heroes of history. It is these heroes that lead the aspirations of the masses to their rendezvous with heroic achievement. Socio-historical forces find their voice in the words and deeds of the hero in history, who leads the masses to their cherished goal. In order, therefore, to fully appreciate

the life and work of the Fighters for our Freedom, it is necessary to understand and appreciate the difficulties that beset them in the times in which they lived. A brief survey of the history of the Muslims ever since the advent of Islam on this subcontinent would greatly help us in this task.

The history of a country is prone to be influenced by its geography, just as the political institutions of a people are apt to be influenced by their religion. The boundaries of India, standing on its apex like a gigantic triangle, are protected on the northeast and northwest by mighty mountains, thick jungles and icy wastes; and its western, eastern and southern boundaries are protected by the Arabian Sea, the Bay of Bengal and the Indian Ocean. Although nature has implanted it thus in a protected position, yet its mountain gateways and its ocean-navigation have made it accessible to the outside world. The waves of different races that penetrated these two barriers have mingled in the Indian crucible, resulting in a fusion of races, cultures, languages and religions. "In the days of early invasions by these distinct racial groups each race brought with itself its own tales of mythology, its panorama of superstition, and its bagful of philosophy, and, in the absence of a universal creed, the tendency was towards antithesis instead of synthesis, towards heterogeneousness instead of homogeneousness."[1]

While her proverbial wealth tempted outsiders to come to conquer India, many of them were themselves captivated by the charm and spell of this land. A dual process was simultaneously in progress—the outsiders were endeavouring to strike root in a foreign environment; the indigenous people, lost in their speculative thinking and dominated by a rigid caste-system, did not desire to live together in common brotherhood with the outsiders.

Alexander the Great invaded India in 327 B.C., and the Greek historians and physicians that accompanied his invading armies wrote about India that lay beyond the east of the river Indus, and with this begins the external history of India. The Greek armies crossed the Indus above Attock and, fighting the armies of Porus, one of the local kings, inflicted a crushing

1. Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah by G. Allana. Ferozsons Ltd., Lahore, 1967, p. 33.

defeat on him. The outcome of this battle, which took place where the river Jhelum takes a sharp bend, resulted in Porus tendering "his submission and was confirmed in his kingdom, and became Alexander's trusted friend."[1] Alexander pushed on to Sind from the Punjab, and found that "the country was hostile".[2] But he captured Multan, the capital of Sind, being, however, severely wounded in the fight. Appointing Greek governors to rule over the territories he had conquered, he pushed further on, and founded on the banks of the Indus a city that he named Putala, which is Hyderabad of today. Part of his army set sail along the Persian Gulf, and he himself led a part of it through Baluchistan and Persia to Susa. The first foreign invasion of India ended, and the invaders had founded no kingdom. "The only traces which the Greeks left in India were their science of astronomy, their beautiful sculptures, and their coins."[3]

About the year 126 B.C., the Scythian tribe of Su drove out the Greeks from the Bactrian kingdom, to the northwest of the Himalayas, and rushing through the Himalayan passes conquered a part of the Punjab. The Scythians, belonging to many tribes, came from Central Asia, "and they form a connecting link between India and Chinese history......Budha himself is said by some to have been a Scythian."[4] About a hundred years later, the Scythians had founded a powerful kingdom in Northern India. The most famous of the Scythian kings was Kanishka, whose sovereignty extended over Kashmir, Agra, Sind, Yarkand and Khokand. Kanishka carried on wars as far as the borders of China, and a town in the Punjab, called China-Pati, was said to be the place where the king kept his Chinese hostages. The Scythians came in large numbers to India and spread all over the Punjab, and some writers are of the view that the Rajputs and Jats of the Punjab are descended from the ancient Getae tribe, one of the Scythian tribes. The inroads into India by Scythians continued for about 400 years, and "The Scythian monarchies of Northern India were in contact with the Buddhist kingdom

1. A Brief History of the Indian Peoples, by Sir W. W. Hunter, 1897, p. 86. Oxford University Press.
2. Ibid. p. 86.
3. Ibid. p. 89.
4. Ibid. p. 90.

under the successors of Asoka in Hindustan. The Scythians there had become Buddhists; but they made changes in that faith."[1]

Thus we see that in ancient times there were three distinct races that made up the inhabitants of this subcontinent—the non-Aryans or the aborigines, who were the original inhabitants; the Aryans, who came from Central Asia in pre-historic times; and the Scythians. These three races had their own respective notions of morality and religion, of customs and social codes, and each race brought its own language. The non-Aryans "kept up the early form of marriage, according to which a woman was the wife of several brethren, and a man's property descended, not to his own, but to his sister's children. In their religion, the non-Aryans worshipped demons, and tried by bloody sacrifices of human victims to avert the wrath of the malignant spirits whom they called gods."[2] The Aryans, progressing beyond the stage of a nomadic hunting society, had reached a stage of semi-settled life of agriculture and industry. The Scythians were somewhere in between these two races in the scale of social development. The Aryans contributed more than the other two races in supplying a civilising influence in India. One of their castes, the Kshatriyas, subjugated the non-Aryans; another caste, the Vaisyas, helped develop agriculture; and the most powerful of these castes, the Brahmans, gave to the people religion and literature. Around 500 B.C., a new creed, Buddhism, helped to enhance the superiority of the Aryans, and the Scythians largely accepted Buddhism as their religion. "It did something to combine the non-Aryans, the Aryans, and the Scythians into a people with similar customs and a common faith. But it was driven out of India before it finished its work."[3] Subsequent upon the weakening of the influence of Buddhism, the power of the Brahmins became supreme. One of the kings of southern India in the eighth century commanded his servants to put to death the old men and the young children of the Buddhists, from the southernmost point of India to the Snowy Mountain. "Let him who slays

1. A Brief History of the Indian Peoples, by Sir W.W. Hunter, p. 91.
2. Ibid. p. 94.
3. Ibid. p. 95.

not, be slain."[1] The anathemas of the Brahmans against Buddhism became a rallying-point on the battlefield of religion, paving a new way to unity. "This new bond of union was Hinduism."[2]

About fourteen hundred years ago, the advent of Islam brought to the fore a new world force, which was soon to alter the course of world history. Its insistence on the universal brotherhood of man had a special appeal for a world torn and divided by false notions of superiority based on worldly possessions, on race, on religion, on colour, on caste. Its appeal was irresistible, and it spread across continents and countries. "Islam, therefore, entered the subcontinent within a few years of the proclamation by the Prophet of his mission."[3] The Arabs were enterprising seafarers and carried on trade by the sea-route with many parts of the world, including India. The Indians, on the other hand, "did not like to go to other countries, being afraid of not being able to observe the caste taboos regarding food and untouchability."[4] During the first three centuries after the Holy Prophet of Islam, many settlements of Arabs sprang up, particularly on the southwest coastline of India.[5] These settlements were important centres in the sea-trade carried on by the Arabs from Arabia to Ceylon and the Far East *via* India. The Arab trade was mutually beneficial to the Arabs and to the Indians, and this strengthened the bonds of friendship between them. "The Muslims thus had no grievance against the authorities of the Indian states in which they carried on their business. They were respected and there were occasions when they were called upon to accept high offices or were entrusted with important duties."[6] Many Arab settlers married Indian women, and thus the Arab population increased rapidly, and in some places their population was about twenty per cent. Islam, being a missionary religion, found many ready converts, and this work of conversion was greatly helped by the preaching

1. A Brief History of the Indian Peoples, by Sir W. W. Hunter, pp. 95/96.
2. Ibid. p. 96.
3. The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent, by Dr. Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi. Mouton & Co., 1962, p. 11.
4. Ibid. p. 12.
5. Arab Wa Hind Ke Taluquat, by Sayed Sulaiman Nadvi, p. 55.
6 The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent, by Dr. Ishtiaq Husain Qureshi, p. 14.

of Muslim Sufis, who came either to places on the western or the southern coast of India. More and more mosques began to be built, keeping pace with the Arab settlements that grew up in India, and in each mosque there was an *Imam* who, besides his other duties, imparted religious education to Muslim children.

The local rulers in Sind, realising that their interests were to some extent antagonistic to those of the Arabs, did not welcome the Arabs, either as sea-traders or settlers. Besides, the Hindus of Sind were not inhibited with the same prejudices as the Hindus of the South to leave their own homeland, to cross the seas, and to go in search of overseas trade. The Sind coastline was infested with pirates, who often harried and plundered Arab boats that were on their way to Ceylon and to the South of India. The nefarious activities of the Sindhi pirates were resented by the Umayyad Government and strong protests were lodged by it with the rulers of Sind. One of the ships carrying presents from the ruler of Ceylon for Hajjaj, the Umayyad Governor of Iraq, was plundered by the pirates off the coast of Sind, and once again the Umayyad Government vehemently protested and demanded reprisals against the guilty pirates as well as it demanded compensation. The ruler of Sind ignored this protest and refused to punish the pirates, so that Arab navigation for purposes of trade could be made safe. This roused the anger of the Arabs. Mohammed Bin Qasim, a young Arab General, was entrusted with the task of invading Sind and making the seaway safe for Arab navigation. The fighting that took place between the forces of Mohammed Bin Qasim and those of the local rulers was fierce and lasted over one year, A.D. 712 to 713. Mohammed Bin Qasim, in the end, won a spectacular victory, and thus Sind came to be annexed to the Government at Baghdad. A Rajput garrison "raised a huge funeral pile, upon which women and children first threw themselves. The men having bathed took a solemn farewell of each other, and, throwing open the gates, rushed upon the weapons of the besiegers, and perished to a man."[1] It was for the first time that Muslim rule had been set up in India, and this proved to

1. A Brief History of the Indian Peoples, by Sir W. W. Hunter, p. 111.

be an event of far-reaching consequence. The introduction of Muslims on the Indian political scene greatly benefited the people of this subcontinent. "India was enriched by the addition of a new religion (Islam) to her repertory of faiths, and the variety of her multicoloured civilisation was diversified by the infusion of new elements...... The languages and literatures of the Muslims exercised a pervasive influence on the speech and writing of the Hindus...... In architecture, painting, music and the minor arts, profound changes occurred and new styles made their appearance in which the elements of both were fused."[1]

A great mass of the people of Sind were Buddhists, who were an oppressed section of the population under Hindu rule. The relationship between the Buddhists and the newly arrived Arabs was, however, on a more accommodating basis. The fact that there was no organised opposition to Arab rule in Sind. either from the Hindus or from the Buddhists, is proof of the liberal manner in which Arab dominance over Sind came to be established. In the subsequent three hundred years, a substantial part of what is now known as West Pakistan came under Arab influence and control, and Lahore rose into eminence as one of the Muslim capitals of the world. "The first collision between Hindusim and Islam on the Punjab frontier was the act of the Hindus."[2] The Hindu chief of Lahore, Jaipal, attacked the territories of the Ghaznavid kingdom of Sabuktigin. In the wars that followed, ultimately Mahmud of Ghazni subjugated the kingdom that had been under Jaipal. Thus both Sind and the Punjab came under the sovereignty of Muslim rulers. From now on Muslim influence, thought, culture, language, and literature came to exercise a far-reaching influence on the indigenous culture, language and literature, and this gave birth "to a rich new culture which came to be the distinctive feature of the Muslims of Sind and the Punjab, soon to spread from across the boundaries of these two provinces to stride the entire sub-continent."[3] Islam spread in India in the subsequent centuries. Muslims became intimately involved in the political and economic life of the

1. History of the Freedom Movement in India, by Tara Chand, Vol. I, p. 2.
2. A Brief History of the Indian Peoples, by Sir W. W. Hunter, p. 113.
3. Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah, by G. Allana. p. 38.

country, but they continued to look upon themselves as a distinct cultural group. "This feeling of distinctiveness, ever present in their consciousness, was to later on make articulate their subconscious urge to look upon themselves as a separate nation."[1] The culture of the Muslims had been basically and overwhelmingly Islamic in letter and in spirit, and the interplay of many centuries did not make them lose their distinctive character. "The Muslims of the subcontinent emerged as a distinct entity because they developed a separate culture and well-defined aims and ideals....They belonged to a habitat, which affected their tastes and manners, but with which they refused to identify themselves so completely as to lose their distinctive qualities; they were a people living, as it were, in two worlds; one was that of their immediate surroundings and the other was the world of the sources of inspiration which sustained their spiritual existence."[2]

In the thirteenth century Muslim influence spread all over India, and Bengal came under its political orbit. At this time the barbaric hordes of Ghengiz Khan had subjugated the eastern part of the Muslim world and they were now carrying fire and devastation into India through its mountain passes. But they were successfully held at bay by the Muslim kingdom of Delhi. Muslims during this period had produced eminent scholars, statesmen and soldiers. Muslim Sufis enriched Islamic mysticism, and their lives and work were a source of great spiritual awakening among the Muslims.

The Muslims, coming into India as they did from many Muslim countries, spoke their own language and also learnt the languages spoken by the natives of the soil. Out of this inter-action and inter-mingling of languages there arose a *lingua franca*, which came to be spoken both by the Muslims as well as the Hindus. The official language continued to be Persian; Turkish was the mother tongue of Muslims from Turkey, and Arabic was the language of the religion. The mixture of these languages with that spoken in India came to be known as Urdu, and it soon became the language of polite society and of sublime poetry. It gradually supplanted

1. Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah, by G. Allana, p. 38.
2. The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent, by Dr. I. H. Qureshi, p. 103.

Persian, and became a language spoken in all homes and understood in most parts of India. Urdu "is neither pure Prakrit nor pure Persian. It is a language which has risen as a result of the mixture of foreign and native languages...... This is symbolic as well as characteristic of the culture developed by the Muslims in this subcontinent. They did not discard their original culture."[1] Urdu had a powerful appeal and its literature grew rapidly. "Sufi saints who were interested in propagating the message of Islam were pioneers of Urdu literature. .....During the eighteenth century Urdu spread to all corners of India and Urdu literary circles were established in every province of India."[2] With the rise of militant Hindu nationalism in the twentieth century, the general acceptance and popularity of Urdu was an eye-sore to the Hindus, and it became a matter of bitter controversy between the Congress, as the spokesman of the Hindus, and the Muslim League, the mouthpiece of the Muslims of India.

"The development of Urdu, more than anything else, epitomised the cultural fusion between the Hindus and the Muslims, and its rejection by the Hindus a breaking away from a common heritage."[3]

In 1526, Babar invaded India and, winning a decisive victory at Panipat, became the first of the Moghul Emperors. When he died at Agra in 1530, his empire extended from the river Amu in Central Asia to the Gangetic delta in Lower Bengal. The Moghuls completely identified themselves with the interests of their conquered subjects and ushered in a glorious chapter of history during their rule. They have made a lasting contribution to the cultural heritage of this subcontinent. The Moghul Emperor Akbar, in his desire to placate Hindus, tried to bring about a synthesis between Islam and Hinduism, thus establishing an era of unprecedented religious tolerance. Akbar's experiments in the domain of religion introduced an element of heterodoxy, which was resented by the orthodox, and the *Mujaddid* movement was the first organised attempt at fighting these forces of heterodoxy, generated by Akbar. After the death of Aurangzeb, the Moghul empire

1. The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent, pp. 94-95.
2. History of the Freedom Movement in India by Tara Chand. Vol. I, p. 22.
3. A History of the Freedom Movement, Vol. I., by Dr. I. H. Qureshi, p. 13.

was heading towards its decline, and the weakening of the Central power at Delhi had given rise to the Marathas to challenge the Moghul Emperors in open battle. The rise of the Maratha power "ignited the imagination of the Hindus, who saw in its success an opportunity to lay the foundation of a Hindu Empire in Bharat."[1] The successes of the plundering and marauding armies of the Marathas had done irreparable damage to the socio-economic structure of India, and "The prosperity which had been built up by long years of ordered and benevolent government under the diligent care of the Moghul Emperors was once again destroyed by anarchy and disorder. This period played a considerable part in creating the conditions of chronic poverty of the Indian masses."[2] However, with the rise of Ahmad Shah Abdali on the scene and his military successes, the Marathas received a severe setback.

In the fifteenth century the Moors retreated from the Hispanic peninsula, and the Spanish and Portuguese naval forces pursued the Muslims on the highways of the seas, in order to crush them out of existence. As an offshoot of this conspiracy against the Muslims, Vasco Da Gama, the Portuguese naval chief, in 1498 landed his forces at the port of Calicut, and this incident introduced a new dimension in the relationship that had hitherto existed between Asia and Europe. "The Portuguese adventure had far-reaching consequences. In the first place, it drove Turkish and Arab shipping out of the Indian centres and thus brought to an end the peaceful commercial intercourse which had existed between India and her West Asian neighbours since the time of the Abbasid caliphate and before. India's exports and imports used to be transported in Indian and Asian ships. They were transferred to the Portuguese bottoms and a mortal blow was struck at the Indian shipping industry."[3] And, it must be remembered that it was the Muslims who had introduced the overseas shipping trade and industry in India, and this industry was in their hands when the usurpers from the West made their first appearance on the Indian scene. The Portuguese infiltration

1. Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah, by G. Allana, p. 40.
2. A History of the Freedom Movement, Vol. I, by Dr. I. H. Qureshi, p. 29.
3. History of the Freedom Movement in India, Vol. I, by Tara Chand, p. 5.

in the subcontinent had shown the way, and other European powers were not slow in following the same sea route and in obtaining a foothold in India. Europe during that time was in a state of dynamic activity, aided by its phenomenal discoveries in science, and its relentless drive for amassing wealth and power through its material superiority. Militant Europe was not only knocking at the gates of a fabulously wealthy India, but had breached its gates, and was already within its citadel.

Blinded by her expansionist policy, Portugal soon discovered that it was holding more foreign territory than it could control. Within a hundred years after the landing of Vasco Da Gama at Calicut, Portugal had lost its supremacy in the Hispanic peninsula, and she yielded her power to the superior forces of Spain, which loomed as a great power on the world horizon. Spanish supremacy was challenged by smaller but better organised and more dynamic nations like the Netherlands, France and England, and they gradually pushed Spain out of the combat. The Netherlands could not last long in the struggle, and thus by the middle of the eighteenth century only England and France were left in the race for supremacy. All these Western powers had entered India at first under the guise of traders, and then came openly in the field to carve out their spheres of influence and domination. France was shaken to its roots during the French Revolution of 1789, and it stood a house divided against itself. Considerably weakened by internecine warfare, the home country could not reinforce her forces in possession of territories in India, and thus began the decline of France as a possible paramount power on the subcontinent. The Seven Years' War proved to be the proverbial last straw on her back, and France gradually faded out as a strong rival of the English in India.

The English were masters in the art of ruling alien nations by the classic but immoral method of "Divide and Rule". This was the decisive key-note of their State policy, and they succeeded admirably in setting one chief against the other, one prince against the other, and every time they reaped rich dividends due to the foolishness of the Indian rulers themselves. The East India Company, which was the original company under whose auspices the English had come

to India, was ostensibly there to make profits. With more and more political power coming into her hands, the profits that the company and her officers made were fantastic, both through visible as well as invisible means. Some of the financial scandals by the Englishmen in India are so fantastic that they appear difficult of belief. But a more grievous scar on the soul of the people of India than mere financial losses was that they had been deprived of their freedom and that they were being ruled by a foreign power that began to treat India as a mere colony for downright economic, political and military exploitation. India had ceased to be the master of her own destiny, and become a mere pawn which British strategy moved on the chess-board of world politics to suit her own ends.

Babar had laid the foundations of the Moghul Empire in the sixteenth century. His successors proved to be benevolent and farsighted rulers. At the time of the death of Aurangzeb the Moghul Empire extended from the Karakoram mountains and the Oxus river in the north to the Kaveri river in the south, and from Persia on the west to Burma in the east. The Moghul empire was the largest and the most prosperous of any in the world at that time. "Its system of government and administration guaranteed peace and order over a vast region and it offered unique opportunities of advancement in arts and letters. Its achievements constitute a brilliant chapter in the history of world civilisation."[1] The power of the Moghuls increased with the passage of years, until in the days of Aurangzeb it had reached its high-level watermark. The central authority at Delhi was very strong and all-embracing, law and order being well kept in its far-flung territories, and a reasonable degree of prosperity being shared by the people. Inspite of what some of his detractors have written, Aurangzeb was a benevolent ruler. "In the discharge of his extremely onerous duties he had shown a devotion, assiduity, courage and calmness which mark him as a unique ruler of men. In his personal life he was the model of a good man. He was free from the vices so common among Asian potentates and princes. He lived simply, nay, austerely."[2]

1. History of the Freedom Movement in India, by Tara Chand, Vol. I, p. 70.
2. Ibid. p. 45.

With the weakening of the central authority at Delhi, after the death of Aurangzeb, fissiparous tendencies set in, and the consequent fissures that developed in the edifice of the Moghul Empire had encouraged the Marathas to gain accession to the revenues of the Empire and had enabled them to interfere with impunity in the administrative machinery. The English were already entrenched on the door-steps and as the Moghul Empire headed towards its decline, the English were emboldened to transform their role by stages, from that of being traders to becoming the builders of a mighty empire. Western influence and domination had come to stay in India. The interaction that followed between Western thought and methods and Indian tradition and culture brought about consequences that threw all the peoples of India into a deep moral and spiritual torment. Indian economy began to be modelled so as to suit the imperial needs of England, resulting in progressive impoverishment of the resources of India.

The disabilities and disadvantages that British rule ushered in fell more heavily on the Muslims than upon the Hindus. The Muslims, a powerful and freedom loving people, found themselves fettered by the chains of social, economic, cultural and political subjugation, and an unceasing struggle ensued for liberation from foreign domination. Freedom was the guiding star on their onward march to their political destiny. This freedom struggle produced many heroes, whose foresight, leadership, and sacrifices have made it possible for our nation to breathe in freedom.

MUJADDID-I-ALF-I-THANI

(1562—1624)

In the distant past, class-glorifying ideologies were accepted by the masses because they believed the king and the elite had superior morals than those possessed by themselves. The Pharaohs were supposed to have superhuman powers, and for centuries thereafter every king came to be clothed, in the eyes of the people, with the robes of infallibility. At times even divine powers were attributed to the king and he was supposed to do no wrong. The kings of old were eulogised in epic poems and immortalised by magnificent monuments. The goal of state policy was to make the masses look upon the king as the source of all benevolent power, in order to win their blind loyalty and submission. And so the king was looked upon as the saviour of the nation and the dispenser of justice. Very often the king designed all his beliefs in the domains of morality and religion to suit his political ends. The king rationalised, beatified and justified all his actions by giving reasons, which would appear to be entirely devoid of any motive of selfishness. Thus, even when the intention of the king was malafide, the thunder of high-sounding moral justification was powerful enough to silence all opposition to the royal decree.

A general tendency is noticeable in the kings in that they have always sought to hold unlimited power over the lives and properties of their subjects. Under such circumstances, it was not possible for them to draw a moral dividing line between what was right and what was wrong. Pursuit of power was a habit, and like the habit of taking dope by a drug addict, this habit kept company with the king until his death. "Thus power intoxication marks a large portion of the top rulers of the political empires in ancient Egypt and Babylon, in ancient Rome and Greece."[1] While the power

1. Power & Morality, Sorokin & Lunden. p. 36.

of the king depended on his absolutism, the power of a community depended more on its beliefs than on its strength in numbers or in economic might. However, some kings desired to possess power as an end in itself and not as a means to achieving anything gloriously great for their peoples. Love and lust for power in such cases never had any noble objective before it. "Love of power, like lust, is such a strong motive that it influences most men's actions more than it should".[1]

Akbar, the Moghul Emperor, ruled over India from 1556 to 1605. It would be interesting to examine how his actions as a king were influenced and inspired by his pursuit in the realm of power-seeking. Babar, his grandfather, had invaded India in 1526, and he found that country divided into principalities and kingdoms, ruled by Hindu or Muslim princes. With his victory at Panipat in that year, he succeeded in ascending the throne at Delhi, and thus became the founder of the Moghul dynasty that continued to rule for over two hundred years. "While Humayun was flying through the desert of Sind to Persia, his son Akbar was born in the fort of Umerkot (1542)".[2] But, when Akbar was only fourteen, Humayun returned to India, and once again by defeating his enemies at Panipat in 1556, the Moghul dynasty came to be firmly entrenched in Delhi. Humayun died soon thereafter, to be succeeded by his son, Akbar, who was in every sense of the word the real founder of the Moghul Empire.

Here was an empire set up by a Muslim dynasty in a country where the Muslim population was an insignificant minority, and the Hindus were the dominant majority community. "The Muslim Empire in India was always faced with an inherent difficulty. It started as the rule of an alien people over a vast population which had its own traditions of religion, culture and philosophy. The ancient Hindu civilisation could not accept, without a struggle, a secondary position in its own habitat".[3] Believing that he must placate the Hindus at all costs, if his dynasty was to be perpetuated as the rulers of India, Akbar embarked upon a state policy of compromise with and pacification of the Hindus. Possibly, he felt that

1. Power, Bertrand Russell, p. 180.
2. A Brief History of the Indian Peoples, W. W. Hunter, p. 133.
3. A History of the Freedom Movement, Riazul Islam, p. 65.

religion was the main dividing line between his Hindu and Muslim subjects, and he believed that if he could eliminate that "great divide", he would succeed in eliminating the main cause of separation of his peoples, and that thereafter he would receive their united support. Already "Laxity and heterodoxy had grown in volume towards the end of the rule of the Lodis (1526)".[1] When Akbar came to the throne, he was devoted to orthodox Islamic beliefs and was sympathetic and friendly to the Muslim theologians. But he gradually sacrificed orthodox beliefs at the altar of statecraft and in the interests of perpetuating his own personal power, he married a Hindu Rajput princess, and later on his son's marriage also took place with another Rajput princess, who came to occupy positions of power in the ruling hierarchy. While Akbar gained the support of the Hindus and Rajputs, the State began to gradually lose its Muslim character and basis. "Akbar's attempt to broaden the base of the Empire was fraught with far-reaching consequences. It set it on the inevitable course of being converted into a non-Muslim State".[2]

Young in years, Akbar found he had unlimited powers in his hands. As may be expected under such circumstances, his subjects loaded him with flattery, the refrain of which was that the Emperor was endowed with "spiritual powers and was a man of destiny". Constant flattery, like oft-repeated lies, has a knack of finding ready acceptance, and so it was in the case of Akbar. Flattery is always delectable, and he began to readily believe what the flatterers said. "A man whom Future has favoured as it had Akbar easily falls into the fallacy that his success has a higher purpose which destiny is unfolding in new ways, especially when it is being constantly suggested to him by so many wise men. If he sees that learned men abjectly recognise him as the superior intellect, it is difficult for him to maintain his balance. Here was an ideal instrument for subverting the position of orthodoxy in the land, if only it could be won over. The times were propitious for such an endeavour because the beliefs of the rank and file among the Muslims had already been corroded by extraneous influences and doctrines which would present any sharp reaction

1. The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent, Dr. I. H. Qureshi. p. 137.
2. A History of the Freedom Movement. by Riazul Islam, p. 66.

on their part. Akbar's turning away from orthodoxy was a slow and gradual process in the beginning, but having once started, it continued to gain momentum".[1] Akbar also realised that so long as orthodoxy had authority over the affairs of state, his own authority would have to be circumscribed by what the law of Islam dictated. This, he felt, was a crippling restriction on his powers, and he thirsted for unlimited power.

Akbar had a Hall of Worship built where he would gather leaders of different faiths in order to hold theological discussions. He found that these religious scholars hardly ever agreed among themselves on matters connected with religion and religious belief. "Akbar was the ruler of an empire inhabited by men of diverse faiths; therefore he must set himself up as the teacher of men of different religions .... There was no difficulty in his becoming a spiritual guide and, therefore, he started an order called by the name of the Divine Faith and Divine Monotheism".[2] It was not difficult to find converts to his state religion, "based upon natural theology, and comprising the best practices of all known forms of belief. Of this made-up creed, Akbar was the prophet, or rather the head of the church". Akbar felt himself imbued with a "sense of superhuman omnipotence which is bred of despotic imperial power".[3]

The courtiers and flatterers surrounding Akbar made him seriously believe that, being the Emperor, he had every right to lay down the law for his people, in all walks of life, including religion. "The real Saint", Baudelaire writes, "is he who flogs and kills people for their own good". Akbar looked upon himself as if he were a sort of a saint, whose duty it was to force his people to accept his experimental beliefs in the realm of religion, as if they were divinely ordained laws and beliefs. His peoples prostrated themselves before his religious beliefs, just as they were prepared to prostrate themselves before his person, as they considered him to be the embodiment of all worldly power, a power that held the life

1. The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent, Dr. I. H. Qureshi. p. 139.
2. Ibid. p. 145.
3. A Brief History of the Indian Peoples, W. W. Hunter, p. 138.

and death of his peoples in the hollow of his palm. Akbar brought into being the fable of Deen-e-Ilahi in order to give himself the illusion of having won immortality in his own life-time. "Akbar seems to have believed that his understanding of Islam was more rational than that of the theologians with whom he differed".[1]

The founding of the Divine Faith had completed the first phase of Akbar's dream of setting himself up as a super-human being, who must naturally wield absolute authority over his subjects. Now followed a number of royal decrees, which left orthodox Muslims gaping with wonder as to where it would all end. "They felt that Islam was undone in India".[2] Some of his innovations and orders appear today to be too presumptuous and ludicrous to be true, but Mulla Abdul Qadir Badayuni, who was a contemporary of Akbar and a historian, has given us in his book, *Muntakhab-ut-Tawarikh*, a graphic account of Akbar's royal decrees in order to spread his Divine Faith. According to Mulla Badayuni, Akbar surrounded himself with those people who were ready to accept all his teachings without question, and those who did not believe in revelation and in any religious code. "To believe in revelation was considered as *Taqlid* or following authority blindly—a low kind of morality and fit only for the uneducated and the illiterate".[3]

Akbar went further, "He openly opposed Islam and regarded the injunctions of Islam as temporary and irrational .... So many wretches of Hindus and Hinduised Muslims brought unmitigated revilings on the Prophet; and the villainously irreligious *Ulema* in their works pronounced the Emperor to be infallible and contented themselves with maintaining the unity of God, they next mentioned the various titles of the Emperor, and did not have the courage to mention the name of the Prophet (God be gracious to him and to his followers, and give them peace in defiance of the liars) ..... Besides this the mean people of the higher and lower classes .....professed themselves to be his disciples".[4] It can well be imagined

1. The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent, Dr. I. H. Qureshi, p. 146.
2. The Mujaddid's Conception of Tawhid, Burhan Ahmed Faruqui, 1943. Sh. Md. Ashraf, Lahore. p. 11.
3. Ibid. pp. 11-12.
4. Ibid. p. 12.

what a shock this must have given to orthodox Muslims in India. "The Emperor had ceased to believe in the Quran, he did not believe in life after death, nor in the Day of Judgement". This shows how far Akbar had deviated from Islam, and he wanted other Muslims to follow his example. "Wine was declared lawful, and bacon was made an ingredient of wine; Jizyah or the military tax was abolished and beef was declared unlawful...... The Salat or the prescribed prayers, the Saum or the prescribed fasts and the Haj or pilgrimage to Mecca were abolished". Akbar abolished the Islamic calendar, and substituted it by giving his own calendar. "Islam after a thousand years was considered to have played itself out; the study of Arabic was looked upon as if it were something unlawful; the Law of Islam or Fiqh, Tafsir or the exegesis of the Quran and Hadith or the traditions of the Prophet were ridiculed; and those who prosecuted those studies were looked down as deserving of contempt".[1] As these anti-Islamic measures came to be propounded, one by one, they deeply hurt the feelings and religious sentiments of orthodox Muslims. "The *Adhan* or call to prayers and the Namaz-i-Jamat or congregational prayers which used to be, as prescribed by Islam, offered five times a day in the State hall were stopped".[2] It seemed, according to Mulla Badayuni, as if Akbar had undertaken the responsibility of completely undermining the teachings of Islam. "Such names as Ahmad, Muhamad and Mustafa, the various names of the Prophet of God, had become offensive to the Emperor, and to utter them was a crime. Mosques and prayer rooms were changed into store-rooms and into Hindu guard-rooms".[3]

Muslims were faced with a critical situation, being confronted with an assault on their orthodox religious views. The danger was not only from the fact that this king held opinions dangerous to their Faith as Muslims, it was supplemented by the fact that Akbar's heterodoxy was being accepted by large sections of the Muslims themselves. The situation needed a bold and daring champion to defend the cause of Islam. "Thus the times cried for the appearance of a great reformer".[4]

1. The Mujaddid's Conception of Tawhid, p. 14.
2. " p. 14.
3. " p. 14.
4. " p. 15.

This crying need was fulfilled, when a fearless reformer unfolded the banner of revolt against Akbar's heterodoxy. His name at the time of his birth was Shaikh Ahmed, but who by his devotion to the cause of Islam at a difficult period of its history in the subcontinent, is known as Shaikh Ahmed Al-Faruqui Sirhindi, Imam-e-Rabbani, Mujaddid-i-Alf-i-Thani. "The *Mujaddid* boldly opposed all plans to bring Islam and Hinduism together on the religious level which could not but loosen the Muslim grip on the sources of imperial strength. He clearly enunciated that Islam and *Kufr* were two different entities which could not be fused together".[1] The *Mujaddid's* life and work were the outward manifestations of the intense inner moral and religious urge and fervour within himself. The result was that his teachings came to seep gradually into the consciousness of the Muslims, which kindled in them a burning desire to live their lives in conformity with the tenets of Islam.

Almost midway between Delhi and Lahore is a place called Sirhind, which was about six hundred years ago a wild forest, where tigers and other wild animals abounded. In the days of Firoz Shah Tughlaq (A. D. 1351), through this dense and dangerous forest a caravan carrying with it the royal treasury was on its way to Delhi, protected on its two flanks by the royal guards. One of the members of this caravan, travelling with the royal treasury was a saintly person, *Sahib-i-Kashf*. When the caravan reached the exact spot where Sirhind is now, he had an intuitive realisation that a very great saint would be born in that place. When the caravan reached its destination, and the saint's premonition was conveyed to Firoz Shah Tughlaq, he immediately ordered that the forest be cut down and the foundations laid to build a city there. He entrusted the work to Imam Rafiuddin. "Imam Rafiuddin was the sixth ancestor of the Mujaddid. . . . . While the construction was in progress, Shah Bu Ali Qalandar came and helped in it, and informed Imam Rafiuddin that the great saint of the prophecy would be his descendant".[2] After Sirhind was built, Imam Rafiuddin was entrusted with the management of the town by the King, and since then the family of the Imam

1. A History of the Freedom Movement, Dr. Riazul Islam, p. 66.
2. The Mujaddid's Conception of Tawhid, Dr. Burhan Ahmed Faruqui. pp. 5-6.

came to be settled in Sirhind. From now on they acquired the family name of Sirhindi.

In the Sirhindi family was born Shaikh Abdul Ahad, who was the father of the Mujaddid. Shaikh Abdul Ahad spent the best part of his childhood and youth in serious and devoted studies, particularly in studying the Quran and Hadith. On becoming a disciple of that great mystic and scholar, Shaikh Abdul Qudoos Gungohi, he was initiated by his teacher into the *Qadriya* and *Chishtiya* schools of sufism. Shaikh Abdul Ahad came to be married to the daughter of a great scholar of Bulandsher. Both husband and wife were extremely pious people, devoted to their studies and to propagating Islam. They were a happy and contented couple, and seven sons were born to them, the fourth of whom was Shaikh Ahmad, the Mujaddid.

It is said that a little before the birth of the Mujaddid, his father saw in a dream that the entire world was drowned in darkness, when suddenly out of his breast there leapt forth a powerful light. He then saw a throne, floating in the air, on which was seated a saintly person. Shaikh Abdul Ahad related the story of this dream to Hazrat Shah Kamal, who interpreted the dream to mean that a son would be born to Shaikh Abdul Ahad, who would become a great saint and Mujaddid.[1]

Shaikh Ahmed was born in Sirhind on Friday, the 14th of Shawwal 971 A.H., equivalent to A.D. 1562.[2] At the age of four, his parents had him admitted to a *muktab*, where he was able to learn the Quran by heart within a short time. He had an irrepressible passion for learning, and at a very young age he was able to impress those that met him with his profound knowledge about various branches of learning.[3] His thirst for knowledge took him outside his native Sirhind and he travelled far in those days of difficult transportation and communication, in order to learn from renowned Muslim scholars of the time subjects such as *Hadith*, *Tafsir*, and Philosophy. In his constant travels in his pursuit of knowledge, Shaikh Ahmad once visited Agra, which was at the time the capital, and where Akbar and his ministers lived. The news of the

1. Mujaddid-ul-Azam, Mahomed Halim, pp. 27-28.
2. Hazrat Mujaddid-ul Alfa-i-Thani, Nizamuddin Tankali. Sange Mil Publishers, Lahore, p. 14.
3. Maktoobat Imame Rabbani, Maulana Abdul Rahim, p. 10.

arrival in Agra of a famous scholar spread fast and wide, and Akbar's two trusted ministers, the brothers Abul Fadl and Faidi, anxious to meet such a great person, came to the house of Shaikh Ahmad in order to pay their respects to him. The two brothers were greatly impressed by his undoubted mastery over various branches of learning, and they invited him to stay in their house as their guest for three days. It was a unique honour, as Abul Fadl and Faidi stood very close to the Emperor Akbar. In the days that followed the three were constantly together. One day as Shaikh Ahmad came to visit Faidi in his house, he found Faidi, wearing a worried look, busy writing. On seeing Shaikh Ahmad, Faidi felt relieved. Explaining the reason of his anxiety, Faidi said that he was busy writing his *Tafsir-i-Bi-Nuqat*, which was a commentary on the Quran, no letter of which contained a dot, and that he had come across an *Aiyat*, which was very difficult to comment upon, using letters in Arabic without a dot. Shaikh Ahmad was asked to try his hand at it. He agreed, and to the great surprise and amazement of Faidi, Shaikh Ahmad succeeded in producing within a short time the necessary commentary in chaste Arabic without using a single letter with a dot.[1] "However, this friendship did not last very long, because the Shaikh took serious offence to Abul Fadl's anti-Islamic attitude".[2]

Shaikh Ahmad had been away for a long time, and his father was anxious to meet his son. The father came to Agra, and the father and son soon returned to Sirhind. He was now taking lessons from his father in the *Qadriya* and *Suhrawardiya* schools of sufism and in other branches of religious learning. Under the guidance of his father, he took to severe mystic discipline. Shaikh Abdul Ahad was nearing eighty, and with the passage of years, his love for his favourite son Shaikh Ahmad had increased. The father, however, died in 1007 A.H. and was buried in Sirhind. The Shaikh, plunged in grief, thought of making a pilgrimage to the Holy City of Mecca. The following year he left Sirhind for Delhi on his way to perform the Haj, where he met and came under the influence of Khwaja Baqi Billah, who conferred on him the Khilafat of the Naqshbandiya Order.[3]

1. Maktoobat Imame Rabbani, p. 12.
2. The Mujaddid's Conception of Tawhid, Dr Burhan Ahmed Faruqui, p. 6.
3. Ibid. pp.13-14.

On his return to Sirhind, the Shaikh spent most of his time in prayer and in spreading the teachings of Islam among those that came to study under him. There the news of the death of Khwaja Baqi Billah reached him, which laid him prostrate with grief. After some time he left Sirhind for Lahore, in order to continue his mission of preaching Islam in that city. From Lahore, once again he returnd to Sirhind. His wide travels and personal contacts with Muslims in different parts of India had convinced him that under the auspices of royal commands many un-Islamic practices and beliefs were taking deep root in Muslim minds. His mind had been slowly awakening to the realisation that the times needed the emergence of a bold reformer, who would dare to defty the royal orders and so prevent any assault on the religious beliefs of the Muslims. He was convinced that if things were allowed to drift without check or protest, the task would become more and more difficult. "Further, the Ulema or theologians had taken exclusively to *Fiqh* or jurisprudence as the whole of religious learning; they had ceased to refer to the Quran and Hadith as the genuine sources of Islam. Consequently the juristic view of Islam was alive, the spirit of Islam had died ..... They could be induced to give *Fatwa* or decision of the sacred law, permitting the *Haram* or the prohibited and prohibiting the *Halal* or the permitted. Makhdum-ul-Mulk is said to have given a *Fatwa* that the ordinance of Hajj or Pilgrimage was no longer binding, that it had rather become injurious".[1] In the face of such difficult conditions, the Mujaddid raised the banner of revolt, and as his teachings were contrary, to and directed against, the un-Islamic edicts of Akbar, he invited upon himself the wrath and fury of the Emperor. But he was a devoted and dedicated man, ready to sacrifice his all in order to preserve and save Islam.

While in Agra, which was at that time known as Akbarabad, the Mujaddid sent a message to the Emperor that he should give up his preachings, which were definitely anti-Islamic and un-Islamic.. "Your empire, your power, your army—all these will vanish one day. Prostrate yourself before God. Ask His forgiveness. If you don't do this, then await the retribution of

1. The Mujaddid's Conception of Tawhid, p. 10.

God".[1] Akbar, in spite of this warning, continued in his crusade to make his own conception of religion more and more popular among the princes and the people.

On the death of Akbar, he was succeeded by his son Jehangir, who continued to follow in the footsteps of his father in religious matters. On the other hand, the Mujaddid continued to oppose these beliefs, sought to be popularised under royal patronage. He insisted that his followers should not obey orders, from whomsoever they came, if they were contrary to Islam. The courtiers and flatterers began to pour poison into Jehangir's ears, respectfully sounding warnings that the Mujaddid was opposed to Jehangir and that he must be stopped from preaching against the King. Jehangir had the Mujaddid summoned to his court, and the two had a free and frank discussion, which convinced Jehangir that the Mujaddid had nothing personal against the King. This annoyed those hanging around the court, and from now on they began to spread alarmist rumours that the Mujaddid's movement was a political one, and if it was not nipped in the bud, it would result in the dethronement of Jehangir. They said that the fact that hundreds of Government officials, holding important posts, were the followers of the Mujaddid was enough indication that the Mujaddid was creating a powerful front against the King, and he would ultimately throw Jehangir out of power. Asaf Jah, one of the ministers of Jehangir, was among those who supported this analysis as being sound and correct, and persuaded the King to take action against the Mujaddid. Jehangir thought it better to be guided by prudence and not to ignore such ominous warnings, and he transferred or degraded many officers who were known to be leaning towards the Mujaddid.

Once again, Jehangir had the Mujaddid summoned into his presence, and he was asked to prostrate himself before the King, as was the custom. This was in the year 1618. The Mujaddid was not to be daunted by royal displeasure, and in a firm voice he replied, "I prostrate myself before none, but God. He is the only one worthy of prostration. The King himself is like me, a mere man, and he must also prostrate

1. Hayat-e-Mujaddid Alf-i-Thani, Nizamuddin Tawakali, p. 22.

himself before God".[1] Commenting on the incident, Allama Iqbal in one of his poems has said :

Gardan Na Jhuki Jiski Jehangir Ke Aagey

(Before Jehangir he did remonstrate
Before none but God would he himself prostrate).

Jehangir, who was accustomed to implicit obedience, was annoyed at what he thought was an affront to him by the Mujaddid in the presence of so many people. A royal decree was issued sentencing the Mujaddid to imprisonment, and he was sent as a prisoner to Gwalior State. There was some talk among his followers to stage a political revolt against Jehangir. But on coming to know of such attempts, the Mujaddid wrote from his prison cell to his followers that his was not a political mission. He was a religious reformer, and the rigours of jail life have no effect on him, who is wedded to a noble cause. A time will come, he wrote, when he would be freed from jail. The Mujaddid continued to dream of his mission and of his ultimate victory. In prison, the dreams of the Mujaddid were not circumscribed by geographical limitations of prison walls, nor was the reality of prison-life a deterrent on the free exercise of his mind. Everything conceived in the solitude between prison walls generates a powerful inner conviction, which finds an outlet in the exercise of a dominant will to live a life in accordance with that conviction.

The Mujaddid continued to be confined in Ujjain prison for two years, at the end of which Jehangir began to be convinced that the Mujaddid was merely actuated by his zeal for religious reform, and there was nothing political in his movement. The Mujaddid's imprisonment hurt the feelings of Mahabat Khan, the Governor of Kabul, who invaded India. At Jhelum, Mahabat Khan's army came face to face with Jehangir's army, and the Emperor was taken prisoner. The Mujaddid sent instructions from the jail to Mahabat Khan to set the Emperor free, and Mahabat Khan immediately obeyed the orders of the Mujaddid. Thereafter, Jehangir ordered the Mujaddid to be freed, and at the same time sent a request

1. Hayat-e-Mujaddid Alf-i-Thani, pp. 28-29.

to the Mujaddid to come and stay for some time with Jehangir as his personal guest. The Mujaddid put certain conditions, which Jehangir must accept and implement, before the Mujaddid could consent. The Emperor accepted all these conditions, one of which was that no one would prostrate himself before the King. The Mujaddid was once again in the royal presence, and once again he did not prostrate himself before Jehangir. But the Emperor was now in a chastened mood. He appreciated the reasoning behind the Mujaddid's action. A close attachment began to grow in Jehangir's mind towards the Mujaddid, who remained with the King for eight years, during which time he tried his best to see that Jehangir gave up those teachings which were against the tenets of Islam. The Mujaddid's following grew by leaps and bounds, and it is said that Jehangir's son, Prince Khurram, who later became the Emperor Shah Jehan, also became a disciple of the Mujaddid.[1] "The Mujaddid brought the Islamic kingdom of India back to Islam...... He induced the divines of Islam to the study of the Quran and Hadith, which they had neglected so long...... He established that the *Din* or religion and not *tasawuf* or mysticism is the indispensable thing for a Muslim".[2]

Of middle height, the Mujaddid had a magnetic and imposing personality. He was a man of delicate and sensitive nature, and when face to face with him, one could not but be convinced that he was a man of culture and refinement. Of brownish complexion, he had a big pair of eyes that eloquently spoke of his extremely spiritual nature. He is said to have had large hands, but thin and elongated fingers. He used to be always dressed in very simple clothes—a long white *kurta*, and a white *shalwur;* a huge white turban always adorned his head.[3] He was a prolific writer on religion and mysticism. More famous of his works are his epistles, of which he wrote over six hundred. These letters are addressed to different persons, at different periods of his life, and they cover a wide range of subjects.[4]

1. Maktoobat Imame-e-Rabbani. M. Abdul Rahim Kalachivi, p. 20.
2. The Mujaddid's Conception of Tawhid. Dr. Burhan Ahmed Faruquil, pp. 18–19.
3. Mujaddid-ul-Azam. Mahmod Halim, Shua-e-Adab, Lahore. pp 154-156.
4. Ibid. pp. 159–160.

The Mujaddid found the theory of *Wahdat-i-Wujud* largely accepted by the Mulims of his time. Advancing by stages to the pinnacle of sufism, he rejected *Wahdat-i- Wujud*, the rejection being based on his own personal experiences as a sufi. At first he himself believed in this theory, and for a long time he continued to adhere to it. "Afterwards a new kind of spiritual experience took hold of his soul, and he found that he could hold *Wahdat-i-Wujud* no longer..... At last he had to reject it definitely, and it was revealed to him that *Wahdat-i-Wujud* was a lower stage and that he had arrived at a higher stage, namely, *Zilliyat* or adumberation...... Then the grace of God took him higher up to the highest stage, namely, *Abdiyat* or servitude. Then he realised that *Abdiyat* or servitude is very high above all other stages".[1] Like a true sufi, the Mujaddid evolved from being a man of the world to becoming a God-intoxicated person. "There is no exaggeration in the statement that it was through his influence that Islamic mysticism increasingly became a supporter of orthodoxy..... The Shaikh's influence spread into Afghanistan, Central Asia and the Ottoman Empire in the West and Malaya and Indonesia in the East".[2] The final stage of *Abdiyat* had made him free from bondage to everything except Allah. "The relation between man and God is, according to the Mujaddid, that of Abd and Ma'bud or the worshipper and the worshipped".[3] The vigorous advocacy of his doctrines won the Mujaddid many followers, and he had won for himself an immortal place among the great religious reformers of the world of Islam. "The call of the Mujaddid to all Musalmans and Islamic mystics is 'away from Plotinus and his host and back to Muhammad."[4]

The Mujaddid was now 63. After saying his Idu-Zuha prayers, he came home, lay in his bed and said, "My time is drawing near. I must depart on my last journey". Besides others, his children, seven sons and three daughters, were near him. He began to exhort them that even after his death they should continue to pass their lives on the true Path of Islam; that they should fear only God, and no other power. A

1. The Mujaddid's Conception of Tawhid, Dr. Burhan Ahmed Faruqui, p. 56.
2. The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent, Dr. I. H. Qureshi, p. 152.
3. The Mujaddid's Conception of Tawhid. Dr Burhan Ahmed Faruqui, p. 92.
4. Ibid. p. 127.

long and hard life spread over a number of years devoted to religious reforms had weakened his constitution. He was utterly exhausted physically. It was Tuesday, the 29th of November, 1624. The Mujaddid was experiencing great difficulty in breathing. He asked those near him to lay him on the ground, his head being in the direction of the *Kaaba*. He closed his eyes and was soon lost in prayer. His breathing became heavy and more and more difficult. On his lips was the name of God. Peacefully he passed away that day, leaving behind him a deathless legend—a legend of dedication to the cause of Islam.

SHAH WALIULLAH

(1704—1763)

The Moghul Empire had progressed from strength to strength for about 150 years after its establishment in India and in that period reached a high degree of centralisation. Its subjects, both Hindus and Muslims, owed loyalty to the Emperor, whose orders were obeyed as they were held to be the commands of a person holding the highest authority in the land. So long as this attitude prevailed, the integration and power of the Empire were assured. Aurangzeb was now the Emperor at Delhi, and he was the repository of the powers vested in the central authority. He was "magnificent in his public appearances, simple in his private habits, diligent in business, exact in his religious observances, an elegant letter-writer, and ever ready with choice passages from the Kuran".[1] After his death in 1707, the Moghul Empire had entered its period of decadence and was in the process of disintegration. The history of the Moghul Empire from that period onwards presents a dismal picture of ruin, brought about by an impossible thirst for intrigue and treachery. Of the six emperors that succeeded Aurangzeb, two were under the thumb of Zulfiqar Ali Khan, a general who knew no scruples, and four were willing tools in the hands of a couple of political adventurers, the Sayyid brothers.

Deterioration and disintegration had set in, and in 1720 Nizamul Mulk succeeded in securing the Deccan from the control of the central authority at Delhi. The Governor of Oudh, a Persian merchant by origin, established his own dynasty, independent of the control of the Emperor at Delhi. "The Hindu subjects of the Empire were at the same time asserting their independence".[2] The Sikhs were rising as a

1. A Brief History of the Indian Peoples, W. W. Hunter. p. 150.
2. Ibid. p. 151.

power to be reckoned with. "The Marathas having enforced their claim to blackmail (chauth) throughout Southern India."[1] forced the Emperor to agree to the cession of Malwa, Gujrat and Orissa. The Rohillas were soon to set up independent chieftainships. The weakening of the central authority had a damaging effect on the economic life of the Empire, whose revenues began to dwindle at an alarming rate. Security on the roads while travelling, so essential for the free flow of trade and industry, had been badly affected, and this in turn tended to depress the economic prosperity of the people, giving rise to a serious law and order problem. The mighty Empire of the Moghuls, so assiduously built up, was faltering, and, split up into fragments, it had lost its certainty to successfully oppose encroachments on its territories from its external foes, and on its powers from internal foes. Every one was concerned more with accumulation of private wealth, than with the accumulation of national power and glory. Noblemen and politicians were intriguing with the enemies of the realm, in order to squeeze out certain advantages for themselves, in case the intrigue and the adventure succeeded. "None of them was willing to face the Marathas and they minted excuses when ordered to proceed against the recalcitrant Raja of Jodhpur."[2] The example set by the upper echelons of society were proving to be contagious, and the common people were infected by the malady of lack of loyalty and a general feeling of demoralisation.

Towards the end of the seventeenth century, sectarian antagonism had created a gulf between various sects of Islam in India, the inevitable consequence of which was that it was difficult for the Muslim Emperor to keep his grip over his subjects, who were preponderantly non-Muslim. "The raggedness of character, the determination and the will to meet and overcome all administrative and political difficulties, were no longer at the level achieved in the periods when the Empire was still in the process of expansion."[3] This antagonism had enabled open hostility to creep in, and the Muslims of India were a house divided against itself, and the foundation

1. A Brief History of the Indian Peoples, p. 151.
2. History of the Freedom Movement in India. Tara Chand. p. 50.
3. Shah Waliullah, a Talk by Chief Justice A. R Cornelius.

and fabric of Muslim rule stood badly shaken. To add to this difficulty, there existed social and economic causes, which also worked to their detriment. Beginning as a small minority, Muslims had increased in numbers, but this advantage had been more than offset by the disadvantages it produced, breeding as it did division and quarrels, rather than giving birth to strength through unity. The patronage extended to Muslims had resulted in accelerating the prosperity of Muslim zamindars, noblemen, workers and artisans, but the dispersal of wealth among the various sectors of society not being evenly distributed, this patronage had accentuated maldistribution of wealth, bringing in its wake evil consequences of its own making. The decadent conditions that were apparent to every eye at the beginning of the eighteenth century had brought to the surface chaotic trends, and the entire edifice of the one time glorious Empire was screened by a blinding fog of social, political, administrative and economic disorder. Those who were supposed to run the Government machinery, thereby ensuring justice and fair play, law and order, economic prosperity and social cohesion, had degraded themselves to the level of parasites, who fattened their personal power, to the utter neglect of their duties and responsibilities. Under such conditions, tyranny over poor and unfortunate members of society was the order of the day, and bribery and extortion, favouritism and nepotism, were the demons that stalked the land. The Muslims were as much subject to these humiliations and tyrannies as the Hindus, and the persons that held the whip of authority in their hands lashed the backs of both with equal ferocity. "The Muslims had not only lost their leaders; they had lost their integration. From a well integrated community, they had degenerated into a helpless crowd".[1]

When a ruling class is bent on forcing obedience from their subordinates, then they in actual fact are destroying the growth of intelligence and self-respect among their peoples. This briefly sums up the relationship that subsisted at this time between the classes and the masses. The edifice of social integration and unity among the Muslims of India was built on the foundation of a common faith, Islam, without which it

1. The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent, Dr. I. H. Qureshi, p. 179.

would certainly topple over. When spiritual confusion blurs the vision of a people, their political disintegration, invariably, follows soon. It is, therefore, that loyalty to a leader and religious enthusiasm have at many periods of history proved to be the best means of preserving social cohesion and integration. Agreement among a people tends to increase cooperation among them, and those that are in agreement in their religious belief are better able to work in harmony than those that are quarrelling over their beliefs. At such a time, sometimes, a religious reformer takes upon himself the duty of bringing about unity among his co-religionists over essentials, leaving each side free to differ on non-essentials. Historic causes tend to answer their own needs, and so it was for the Muslims of India at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The times cried out loud for a benevolent and bold religious reformer who could once again bring about unity among the Muslims to give a united front to the common foe, and the times produced such a great one in the person of Shah Waliullah.

The place and date of his birth are a matter of controversy, and historians and scholars continue to differ. "He was born in a small village named Pulth, in District Muzaffargarh, U.P."[1] Whereas another authority says, "He was born in Delhi in 1703 (1114 A.H.)"[2]. Dr. I. H. Qureshi writes, "He was born in 1703,"[3] while Jalbani writes that Shah Waliullah "was born on the 4th of Shawwal, 1114/1702". On the other hand, *Al-Rahim* of February, 1968, a magazine published by the Shah Waliullah Academy of Hyderabad (West Pakistan) gives the year of his birth as 1704. The original name given to him at the time of his birth was Qutubuddin. "The name Waliullah was given to him by his father who probably having found in him true signs of 'the friend of God' had given him such a name".[4]

Shah Waliullah was of illustrious parentage; he writes in his book, *Anfas-al-Arfin*, that his family traces its lineage from Hazrat Umar, the second Caliph. His forefathers

1. Teachings of Shah Waliullah, Dr. G. M. Jalbani. p. 1.
2. History of the Freedom Movement in India, Tara Chand, p. 206.
3. The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Subcontinent, p. 177.
4. Teachings of Shah Waliullah. Dr. G. M. Jalbani, p. 1.

migrated to India, and they are said to have been mostly occupied in the profession of soldiering.[1] Shah Waliullah's grandfather, Shah Wajuddin was an officer in the army of Aurangzeb. In one of the battles between the imperial forces and those of the enemies of the empire, Shah Wajuddin is reported to have shown exceptional bravery, riding on his horse, penetrating into the thick formation of elephants in the defences of the enemy, and killing many with his sword. On another occasion, single-handed he fought three Rajputs and killed all of them.[2] Unlike his ancestors, the father of Shah Waliullah, Shah Abdur Rahim, had no heart in soldiering as a career, giving up the sword and taking in his hand the pen to write books. He was deeply religious and spent most of his time in religious studies[3]. Although Shah Waliullah was not a professional soldier, he had inherited the martial spirit from his ancestors and he would stand his ground in the face of great adversity. One day, while he was going to Fathehpuri Masjid along with a few of his friends, his enemies set against him some hired trouble-makers to assault him. The fight was unequal, many pitched against a few, but Shah Sahib accepted the challenge. His bravery won the day, and his adversaries ran away in fear.[4]

Shah Abdur Rahim was a deeply religious man, a sufi and a scholar. When some learned men at the court of Alamgir were preparing a voluminous book, Fatawa-e-Alamgiri, Shah Abdur Rahim was closely associated with the project. But his heart was in his books, and he left the royal atmosphere of the court in order to live in his own world of meditation and studies. Working with single-minded devotion, he established a school Madrasah-e-Rahimyah, where he devotedly taught the pupils that thronged the portals of his school. He was not an extremist in his religious views, and his searches in the realm of sufism had mellowed his thinking, making his teachings the voice of synthesis rather than that of antithesis. "The essence of the teachings of Shah Abdur Rahim and his brother was an effort to discover a path, which could be traversed together by Muslim

1. Islam Ke Namwar Farzand, Nazar Zaidi, pp. 220-221.
2. Tazkare Shah Waliullah Gilani, p. 218.
3. Ibid. pp. 220-1.
4. Ibid. p. 220.

philosophers and the Muslim jurists".[1] His wise teachings and his attitude of tolerance deeply impressed the minds of those that came to study under him. Due to the decadent condition of the Moghul court, Shah Abdur Rahim made certain political predictions, which have been carefully recorded by his son, Shah Waliullah, and many of these proved to be true.

Shah Waliullah spent his early years studying under his father, who grounded him thoroughly in the Quran and Hadith. Influenced by his father's precepts and practice, he started offering prayers and fasting regularly from a very early age. A the age of fourteen, he had completed his studies in Madrasah-i-Rahimyah in the Quran, Hadith, Fiqah, Philosophy and Jurisprudence and had also acquired some basic knowledge of medicine.[2] His father found the young Shah Waliullah now competent enough to impart knowledge to others, and Shah Waliullah was engaged as a teacher in his father's college, being the youngest member of the staff. He continued as a teacher for about twelve years, and these proved to be of great benefit to him, equipping him fully for the great role that he was to play for the religious renaissance of the Muslims of India. "When I was five, this faquir entered school. At seven my father taught me *namaz*, and I started fasting during the months of Ramzan. By then I had completed reading the Holy Quran. At fourteen, at the instance of my father, I came to be married. It was too early for marriage. At fifteen, I made *baiat* at the hands of my father, who initiated me into the fascinating study of sufism, particularly in the *Naqshbandi silsilah*. My father invited me to teach at his *madresah*, when I was seventeen. I continued to teach for twelve years, during which I also engaged myself in acquiring a good grounding in all branches of learning".[3]

At this time, he was overpowered by a desire to visit the Hijaz, in order to perform the Haj, and so he took a boat and was on his way to Mecca and Medina. Due to his sound and comprehensive education he was already a good scholar of Islam, and he looked upon his visit to the Hijaz as one more opportunity to pursue his studies further. He stayed in that

1. Hazrat Shah Waliullah: Maulana Obaidullah Sindhi.
2. Islam Ke Namwar Farzand: Nazar Zaidi, p. 66.
3. Hazrat Shah Waliullah: Maulana Obaidullah Sindhi. pp. 33-34.

country for about fourteen months, and performed the Haj twice. His thirst for knowledge took him to many scholars of Islamic learning, but he decided to accept Shaikh Abu Tahir bin Ibrahim of Medina as his teacher, mentor and guide. The Shaikh was a man of vast knowledge and profound insight, and he discovered in Shah Waliullah a pupil of great promise. The pupil was devoted to his teacher, and the latter developed a special liking for his pupil. Shah Waliullah records about the Shaikh, "He was gifted with the virtues of the godly faith, like piety, independence of judgment, devotion, attachment to knowledge, and fairness in controversy. Even in minor matters of doubt he would not offer any opinion, until he had pondered deeply, and checked up all references". Having been taught and influenced by his father and Shaikh Abu Tahir, who were both men of broad sympathies and imbued with a spirit of tolerance, Shah Waliullah's mind was influenced in his most impressionable years on the same lines. This was to be of immense benefit to him, and his work and teachings were to give proof of the catholicity of his religious views. "During his stay at Mecca, Shah Waliullah saw a vision in which the Holy Prophet blessed him with the good tidings that he would be instrumental in the organisation of a section of the Muslim community".[1] India was in a state of socio-economic and political turmoil, and life and property were in constant jeopardy. Some of his relatives wrote letters to him, entreating him not to return to India, but to be permanently settled in the Hijaz. Shah Waliullah could not listen to these entreaties. He felt he had a mission to perform, and that the centre from where he could disseminate his message was Delhi. Recording his impressions about his stay in the Hijaz, Shah Waliullah writes, "During my stay in the Hijaz, I met many learned and interesting persons. I was fortunate in being a disciple of Shaikh Abu Tahir, who very kindly taught me in many branches of learning. I performed the Haj once again at the end of the year, 1145 A.H., and reached home safe and sound on a Friday, the fourteenth".[2] Back home, he was determined to embark on his life's work to awaken the Muslims of India to the realities of their fallen situation.

1. A History of the Freedom Movement, p. 494.
2. Hazrat Shah Waliullah: Maulana Obaidullah Sindhi, p. 43.

"He returned to Delhi on 9th July, 1732".[1]

In addition to teaching at his father's school, Madrasah-e-Rahimyah, Shah Waliullah now devoted much of his time to writing, which he continued until the end of his life, with the result that we have numerous books written by him on a number of subjects. He was gifted with a robust constitution, and was capable of writing for long hours at a stretch without tiring. "Once he sat down to work after *ishraq*, he would not change his posture till mid-day. He was rarely ill".[2]

His fame as a religious teacher of a very high order spread far and wide, and the Emperor Muhammad Shah, in acknowledgement of the great work being done by Shah Waliullah, gifted Madrasah-e-Rahimya with a spacious building within the fortified walls of Delhi. Besides being a versatile scholar, Shah Waliullah pondered deeply over the social, economic and political problems of the Muslims of India and, having a sensitive mind that was keenly alive to Muslim suffering, he was deeply disturbed at the fallen condition of his co-religionists. He found individuals comprising Muslim society extremely self-centred and keen on personal aggrandisement to the utter exclusion of the interests of the nation as a whole. The weakened fabric of the social order had resulted in moral degeneration, the worst consequence of which was that the Muslims continued existence in their little grooves, quite oblivious of the dangers that obviously lay ahead of them. Shah Waliullah was alive to these perils, and he now devoted himself to kindling the light of awakening, so that the Muslims may become aware of these dangers, and prepare to meet the challenge of the times. It was about seven years that he had returned, when Naidir Shah invaded India, and his triumphant army sacked Delhi for a number of days. "India received such a crushing defeat at the hands of Nadir that the like of it cannot be found in history. Delhi lay exposed to the pillage and savagery of Nadir and the atrocities commited by the invading hordes went to such an extent that the respectable families had made up their minds to perform *jauhar* (burning oneself). Shah Sahib, however, went to prevent them from doing so by narrating to them the story of Imam

1. A History of the Freedom Movement, p. 494.
2. Shah Abdul Aziz, Son of Shah Waliullah.

Husain. In fact, some twenty years before the devastation of Delhi in the year 1131 A.H., after the cruel murder of Prince Farrukh-Sair, the country had turned into a veritable hell. There was no security and no order anywhere".[1] The people of Delhi found life unbearable, insecure and humiliating. "Frequent panic among the citizens whenever any attack was expected, the flight of the rich, the closing of the shops, the looting of the unprotected houses by the ruffians of the city population who took advantage of the public alarm and confusion; the utter spoliation of the peasantry and the ruin of the surrounding villages by organised hordes of brigands or soldiers out foraging and consequent famine prices in the capital; the incurable intrigue, inefficiency and moral decay of the imperial court"[2].

This was the pitiable state of the central authority at Delhi, and such was the miserable lot of the Muslims of Delhi. Shah Waliullah had developed a sentimental attachment to that city, and his mind was aggrieved at the suffering of the Muslims of his day and, while other minds were stricken with despondency and terror, Shah Waliullah faced them boldly. His analytical mind began to analyse the causes that had brought about this sad state of affairs, and he was already formulating bold policies which he would like to place before the Muslims to follow, if they wanted to bring about their spiritual and material regeneration.

He began to write open letters to the Moghul rulers, bitterly criticising them for their inefficiency, indolence and corruption, calling upon them to give up their life of selfishness and to manfully shoulder the burden of their responsibility in a spirit of righteousness. Pleasures pursued by them would lead them to a temporary paradise, and then would follow the inevitable nemesis of history. "Oh Amirs, do you not fear God? You have so completely thrown yourself into the pursuit of momentary pleasures, and have neglected those people who are committed to your care. The result is that the strong are devouring the weak people . . . . . All your mental faculties are directed towards providing yourselves with sumptuous food and soft-skinned and beautiful

1. Teachings of Shah Waliullah, G. M. Jillani, pp. 112-3.
2. Fall of The Mughal Empire, Sir Jadunath Sarcar.

women for enjoyment and pleasure. You do not turn your attention to anything except good clothes and magnificent palaces".[1] Shah Waliullah also addressed the Muslim soldiers, ridiculing them for living a life of ease and in forgetting to inculcate within themselves the spirit of *Jihad*. He criticised them for their un-Islamic practices, such as drinking wine and oppressing the people in order to extort monies from them. To the artisans and workers and peasants, Shah Waliullah gave a message of awakening, saying that they must realise that on their efforts depended the economic prosperity of the nation, and, therefore, they must devote all their attention to their work in a spirit of dedication, to the utter exclusion of immoral pleasures. "Spend your mornings and evenings in prayer. Devote the major part of the day to your professional work. Always keep your expenditure less than your income. Whatever you save, you must spend on helping travellers and the needy. Keep something in reserve for unforeseen expenses and sudden calamities".[2] At a time when moral values were at a discount, the exhortations of Shah Waliullah came as the voice of moral regeneration.

His open letters to the princes, to the army, to the masses in general reveal a burning desire within him to rouse the Muslims from their lethargy, and bring them back from the path of sin and deviation to the path of utility and righteousness. His insistence was on the theme that the Muslims learn to distinguish between things which are enjoined upon them by Islam and those that are forbidden by religion. He was confident that until and unless every Muslim proves himself to be a useful citizen, earning an honest living, looking after his wife and children, and putting some savings from his well-earned income into the national pool, political life of the nation would be fragile, prone to snap at the slightest touch of calamity and adversity. A healthy mind can only live and flourish in a healthy body, similarly a healthy society can progress only by a healthy and honest living.

The greatness of the work and teachings of a figure of history must be examined in the light of conditions prevailing when those statements were made. Keeping this in mind,

1. Tafhimat-e-Ilahia.
2. Ibid.

one cannot but admire the courage of conviction of this great reformer of society, who was not afraid to tell the truth to the people. He would not cringe before Emperors for favour, or be afraid to tell them of their faults, in their conduct as rulers of the people. His greatness as a fearless champion of what was good for the people and for the rulers is borne out by the following excerpt from one of his books: "The state is in a state of ruin, due to two main reasons. First, it is due to the pressure on the public treasury. People extort from the public treasury money without having put in a corresponding service to the public. They justify it by saying either that they were soldiers or *ulema*, and, therefore, they have a claim on the public treasury. Or they claim that they belong to that group of society on whom the King confers rewards. For instance, people who call themselves superior poets or some other groups, who receive emoluments, without rendering any service to the State. Those people diminish the source of other people's income and are a burden on the economy".[1] This was a terrible indictment of the state of affairs prevailing in those days. Shah Waliullah continues, "The second course of this widespread desolation is the crushing taxation on peasants, merchants, and workers, and unfair and unjust dealings with these groups. The consequences of this are that those that are loyal to the State and obey its orders are being slowly impoverished and ruined. Those that indulge in tax evasion are becoming more and more incorrigible, and they continue their nefarious practice of not paying any taxes. The prosperity of a country is linked with a system of taxation which is light, bearable, and just, so that the necessary appointments could be made in the army and in the administration. This is a fact that people must necessarily understand".[2]

His teachings and his letters were at first ignored, but as they became more pronounced and more persistent, they began to be respected. Shah Waliullah was not concerned with the question whether his teachings were bringing about a change or not. Like a true reformer, he kept on sending out his messages and his warnings. The Jats were threatening

1. Siyasi Maktubat: Shah Waliullah, p. 89.
2. Ibid.

the prestige of the empire, and Shah Waliullah wrote to the Emperor, "The Jat strongholds should be brought under control and a lesson should be taught to the miscreants, so that there may be no recurrence of such disturbances". In another letter he wrote, "Delhi has suffered a cataclysm. The Jats plundered old Delhi. The Government was too weak to defeat them and to crush them and to prevent their depredations. They plundered the people. They violated their honour. They put the houses on fire".[1] In another letter he warns the Emperor not to be in the clutches of his governors, nor to give *jagirs* to *mansubdars*. Those that are traitors to the community and to the country should be severely dealt with, and their properties confiscated. Reforms should be introduced in the organisation of the army, and the soldiers should be paid regularly and promptly. A satisfied army is a great national asset. Those holding religious offices, such as *kazis* and *imams*, should be free from blemish, and those of them who are guilty of corruption should be dismissed immediately.

Shah Waliullah had no love or respect for the effete and corrupt Emperors, but he realised that it was only when the central authority was fair and strong that stability and prosperity could be maintained. His mission could only succeed if there was peace in the land, political turmoil and political plots would jeopardise the success of his mission. So he went on writing letters, advising the rulers what they should do. "The strengthening of the Mughal Empire was, however, only one of the means to an end. His real aim was the establishment of a socio-political structure on the lines and traditions of early Islam".[1]

The plight of the Muslims was pitiable indeed, and their social life was in a deplorable state of disunion. The Hindus controlled and manipulated Government machinery and its administrative policies, although the titular head of Government was a Muslim. Prosperity seemed to gravitate and infiltrate into the coffers of the Hindus, while poverty and hunger howled in Muslim homes.

Like many others that have worked in the field, Shah Waliullah believed that without a literary and intellectual

1. *A History of the Freedom Movement*, p. 525.

renaissance it would be difficult, if not impossible, to bring about a political regeneration of the Muslims. He also believed, basically speaking, that a society that is divided within itself cannot hope to rise and give a lead to others. These were the goals to which his life and work came to be dedicated from now on. He went on writing tirelessly literature that would kindle the necessary spark of moral and political awakening. In those days of poor means of communication, he thought it best to train a devoted band of workers through whom he could spread his message to the Muslim masses. In one of his writings he warned the Muslims, "The Muslims of Delhi and of other places have suffered so much and so often, they have been pillaged and plundered so frequently, that the knife has now begun to touch the bones".[1] National calamities and defeats, when essential commodities of life go underground, tend to shoot up their prices. This was the case in his time in Delhi. Foodgrains were scarce and their prices had gone sky high. "Even medicines became very dear and scanty on account of the exactions of the Marathas".[2] Concerned and worried at this state of affairs, which heaped hardships on the populace, Shah Waliullah wrote to Asaf Jah, "Please exert your influence to check the rising trend of prices. Stop the loot and plunder that is going on all round".[3] He also advised the rulers to keep an effective preventive force in all places, so that the forces of disruption and anti-socialism could be effectively crushed, without which it would be well nigh impossible to bring about the economic prosperity of the nation. In this regard Shah Waliullah proved to be a reformer, who was centuries ahead of the times in which he lived. He lived in the eighteenth century, but in his outlook on and approach to the problems of his age he belongs to the twentieth century. His voice was the voice of a visionary, who is able to see above the dust and din of contemporary confusion the approaching sceptre of defeat and chaos, if bold remedial measures are not immediately taken.

While he exhorted the kings and princes to be aware of their responsibilities, he equally forcefully warned the masses

1. Siyasi Maktubat: Shah Waliullah, p. 62.
2. Fall of the Mughal Empire: Jadunath Sarcar, p. 154.
3. Siyasi Maktubat: Shah Waliullah, p. 84.

to be conscious of their duties, before they could demand their rights. With this end in view he pursuaded the soldiers, workers, peasants, businessmen and artisans that they must, through their continued efforts, work unitedly for the solidarity, integrity and prosperity of the nation. Above all, they must have faith in themselves and in their future. Only a people that have faith in their future can regain their moral and material freedom. Living in an age plagued and dominated by personal authoritative rule of kings, he was brave enough to expose their misdeeds and mistakes, and by insisting on the rights and opportunities for all, he proved to be politically as progressive as any modern democrat. It is a sign of his progressive view on socio-political problems, when it is remembered that he thundered with the voice of a reformer in that far-off period that without a happy, contented and well-looked after labour force production would suffer, thus jeopardising the economic wellbeing of the nation. He demanded a fair deal for workers and for peasants in the days when they were looked upon as merely deaf and dumb driven cattle. "Excessive taxation on peasants, merchants and artisans, those that produce wealth—ruins a nation".[1] "If you allow wealth to be accumulated in the hands of a particular class, you are inciting social discontentment and chaos".[2] He was both a religious reformer and an advanced political thinker. "The task before the modern Muslim is immense. He has to rethink the whole system of Islam without completely forgetting the past. Perhaps the first Muslim who felt the urge of the new spirit in him is Shah Waliullah of Delhi".[3]

Shah Waliullah always thought ahead of his times, and was in that respect a true visionary and pioneer. The Holy Quran was the book of God in the Arabic language, and it would be best to study it in that language. But those that were not well versed in that language would not be in the same advantageous position as those who could understand Arabic. Shah Waliullah was far-sighted enough to believe that the Holy Quran must be translated in other languages for the benefit of those who could not follow it in the original. "Since the

1. Hujjatulah-ul Balligah, Shah Waliullah, p. 199.
2. Siyasi Maktubat, p. 70.
3. *Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*: Allama Iqbal, p. 97.

literary language of the period was Persian, many Muslim countries were not thoroughly conversant with the contents of the Holy Book".[1] It was a bold conception, and he matched his conception with his deeds. Five years after his return from the Hijaz, he undertook the task of translation of the Holy Quran in Persian, a task not hitherto undertaken by any one in the long history of Islam. It was a pioneering work of great importance. "Shah Waliullah would have occupied a high place in the religious history of Muslim India if he had done nothing besides being the first translator of the Quran, but he did much more".[2]

Shah Waliullah was a prolific writer, having written twenty-six and twenty-five major works in Persian and Arabic, respectively, besides many minor works. Among these his *Maktubat* reveal a mind that is unafraid of princes and kings; they reveal a soul thirsty to rouse the Muslims to play their heroic role as the followers of the great Prophet of Islam. His teachings have a catholicity in their approach to theological problems, as he was eager to work for Muslim unity and Muslim solidarity. Besides his monumental translation of the Holy Quran in Persian, his *Hujatullah-ul-Balighah* in Arabic is in a sense a veritable encyclopaedia of religious science. His works also dealt with Hadith, Sunna and Islamic Jurisprudence. The father and uncle of Shah Waliullah were well known sufis, and he learnt from them the mysteries of mysticism. However, he was against such teachings of *Tasawuf* as tended to make Muslims decadent. "And the next *wasiyat* is that you should not entrust your affairs to and become disciples of those saints, who are practising a number of irregularities".[3] He wrote about introducing reforms and discipline in the theory and practice of sufism. In one such book, *Faisla-e Wahadat-ul-Wujud Wa Wahadat-ul-Shuhud*, he has tried to analyse and explain the views held by Ibn-ur-Arabi and Mujaddid Alph-e-Thani's conception of *Wahadat-ul-Shuhud*.

He was now over sixty, and he was in indifferent health. But he kept on working hard, as the candle must keep on burning, until the dawn took over. He was old in years, old

1. A History of the Freedom Movement, p. 492.
2. Ibid. p. 501.
3. Wasiyat Namah: Shah Waliullah

in wisdom, and rich in the unforgettable services that he had rendered to the Muslims. The end was near, and he was prepared for the last journey. He died on the twentyninth in the month of Muharram in the year 1176, equivalent to 1763 A.D. He was survived by four sons—Shah Rafiuddin, Shah Abdul Qadir, Shah Abdul Aziz, and Shah Abdul Ghani. His two sons, Shah Rafiuddin and Shah Abdul Quadir, were the first to translate the Holy Quran in Urdu, thus following in the footsteps of their illustrious father.

He had an encyclopaedic mind, and a heart that beat in unison with compassion for his fellow-men. He has left a mark on his times, and has bequeathed a rich legacy of learning to the Muslims of India. "Here then was a genius, who reached the greatest heights in many different fields appropriate to the intellect of man. He was a theologian, a philosopher, a thinker—a man who could see deep into the roots of the evils that were present around him. He was a sociologist, an economist, a critic of all matters pertaining to the administration of a central imperial government. A great and prolific writer, he has left behind him for succeeding generations a volume of writings, setting out his appreciation of the problems of his time and the remedies, which he proposed for the defects which he saw. Finally, he was a man whose deep adherence to his Faith enabled him to see with extreme clarity that the fundamental need was for integration of the Muslim people through adherence to the tenets of their Faith, by which alone their moral character could be re-built to meet the hard necessities of the time."[1]

1. *Shah Waliullah: (A Talk)* Chief Justice A. R. Cornelius.

HAIDAR ALI

(1717—1782)

The rise of Haidar Ali from anonymity to prominence and fame reads like a fascinating story. Far-sighted by nature, he could see in his youth that the growing power of the English on the sub-continent would soon be a great menace to his people, a power that would ultimately subjugate them, and establish its own sovereignty over the whole of India, including the kingdom of Mysore. A fighter by instinct, his mind was measuring up the national foe and preparing for a time when he would take up arms to drive the enemy out of the country. At the same time, the rising power of the Marathas was carrying on plundering forays, inflicting military levies, initiating wars on all those around them. The Marathas were bent on an expansionist policy and, in the pursuit of success in their undertakings, they did not bother about such petty details as morality, in which is included the virtue of being loyal to one's pledged word. What could not be won on the battlefield, was sought to be obtained by treachery, and the language of the secret and concealed dagger was the medium through which treachery sometimes found its voice. Due to the two-pronged thrust on their liberty, from the English and the Marathas, Haidar Ali spent a lifetime in warding off their attacks and in waging wars against them. By his uncompromising attitude towards them, both on the field of battle and in the field of diplomacy, Haidar Ali has carved out for himself an honoured place among the fighters for our freedom.

"*The History of Hyder Shah, alias Hyder Ali Khan Bahadur; and his son, Tippoo Sultan*", written by M.M.D.L.T., "General in the Army of the Mogul Empire", and revised and corrected by "His Highness Prince Gholam Mohammed, the only surviving son of Tippoo Sultaun", and published in 1855, mentions that "Hyder Ali claimed the honour of being

by descent a Coreishy, and consequently of the same tribe as the Arabian Prophet Mohumed."[1] His great-grandfather, Wali Muhammad, migrated from Mecca to Baghdad, but in order to improve his prospects, he left Baghdad by the land-route *via* Iran and arrived in Delhi. After a stay of some years at Delhi, Wali Muhammad left that city in search of better employment, and, heading southwards, he made Gulbarga as his temporary place of residence. After his death his son Mohammed Ali settled in Kolar. Mohammed Ali had four sons, one of whom was Fateh Mohammed, who by his brave and excellent record in the army was raised to the rank of Naek. Later on he rose to be "a general of ten thousand horse in the army of the empire."[2]

Fateh Mohammed was married to Majidan Begum, a girl of Arab descent, and when she was with child, he took her to a saintly person, called Haider Ali Darvesh. He begged for the blessings of the Darvesh that a son be born to Majidan Begum. Haider Ali Darvesh assured them that their prayers would be heard, and the boy that would be born would rise to acquire great distinction and fame. The Darvesh also suggested to the two parents to name the child after his own name.[3]

The two parents were overjoyed and "Hydar Ali Khan was born in 1717 at Divanelli, a small fortress or castle between Colar and Oscota in the country of Benguelour."[4] The story of this boy, from being a sepoy and rising to become a sultan, reads like a page from a breath-taking book of great adventure.

After the death of his father, Haidar Ali was pressed to pay the debts of his late father. Persecution followed, and Haidar Ali was brought by one of his uncles to Seringapatam. Nanjaraj, the Savadhikari of Mysore, took kindly to Haidar Ali, and when the latter distinguished himself on the battlefield during the siege of Devanhalli, Nanjaraj invested him with the title of Khan, and put him in command of a company of his

1. The History of Hyder Shah, alias Hyder Ali Khan Bahadur: and his son, Tippoo Sultaun, by M.M.D.L.T., General in the Army of the Mogul Empire. Revised & Corrected by His Highness Prince Gholam Mohammed: W. Thacker & Co., London 1885, p. 34.
2. ibid.
3. Basser ; Professor Mohamed Anwarul Hassan, p. 23
3. A History of Haider Ali Khan & Tippoo Sultaun. By M.M.D.L.T, pp. 34–35.

armed forces. "Haidar Ali's newly introduced firearms greatly impressed Nanjaraj and in 1752 the latter associated him with his campaign in Trichnipoly.........."[1] It was in this campaign that Haidar Ali benefited a great deal, getting first-hand knowledge of the advanced technique of modern warfare from French officers and soldiers.

Greatly impressed by the qualities of leadership of Haidar Ali, Nanjaraj entrusted him with the task of fighting Mohammed Ali, his adversary, who was being sided by the English. Haidar Ali succeeded in subduding his foes, and came to be recognised as a military genius and a consummate diplomat. His army and his fortunes increased in proportion to his successes on the field of battle, and in order to organise his army better, he took into his service a number of French soldiers and officers.

At this time Devraj and Nanjaraj, two brothers, were in virtual control of Mysore, having reduced the status of the King, Krishnaraj, to that of a mere figurehead. Devraj was in charge of the army and Nanjaraj was in charge of the civil administration. This dual control, like fireworks, carried within itself the seeds of its own destruction. To add to their difficulties, Mysore was being harassed by the Nizam and by the Marathas, each of whom was making claims on Mysore for territorial accession and for payment of tribute. So that when Mysore was attacked on two fronts in 1755 by Salabat Jang and by the Peshwa of the Marathas, Mysore could buy peace on payment of rupees one crore to the two of them, leaving her internal finances in a state of chaos. There was, as a result of non-payment of wages, a revolt in the Mysore army, and the two brothers, Devraj and Nanjaraj, were unable to face the situation, which was saved by the great skill and tact of Haidar Ali. The people of Mysore from now on began to look upon Haidar Ali as their saviour, not the King nor his ministers, and from that day onward Haidar Ali became the central figure in the political and military history of that part of the sub-continent.

"The Marathas are the people who inhabit the triangular province of India known as Maharashtra, the base of the triangle lying upon the seacoast of Daman to Karwar and the

1. History of the Freedom Movement : A. Rahim, pp. 400-401.

apex running inland to Nagpur." Although the Muslim Emperor at Delhi was the overlord of India, the Marathas from the days of Shivaji, born in 1627, began to dream of setting up their own kingdom, and in doing so openly revolted against the established Government. The rise of the Marathas as a political and military power and of the appearance of the English in India were two contemporaneous events. "Until the lifetime of Shivaji there was no specifically Maratha State nor any sense of Maratha nationality."[1] But with the emergence of Shivaji, the Marathas spread the tentacles of their loot and plunder to the territories lying around Maharashtra. "Shivaji's first successes had exhilarated the Hindus of the neighbouring districts, and many young Marathas left their ploughs and young Brahmans their books to enlist under him."[2]

For over one hundred years after the days of Shivaji, the Marathas had carried on their wars and had succeeded in establishing a powerful kingdom. Their special hatred was against the Muslims, who began to look upon the rising power of the Marathas as a menace and a threat to their very existence. At the same time, the English were going from strength to strength, and it was clear that their ultimate aim was to subdue the Muslim power at Delhi and to substitute it by setting themselves up as the ultimate rulers of India. The Muslims of India were thus confronted with the twin danger of the English and the Marathas, and Haidar Ali was fully conscious of the perils that surrounded him and his co-religionists. He raised the banner of revolt against the Marathas and the English, and from now on his whole life was dedicated to liquidate the power and might of these two enemies. Haidar Ali chalked out for himself the career of a freedom fighter, a rebel in the cause of freedom, and in this task he never swerved for a moment, nor did he ever give up his resolute confidence in himself.

In 1758, the Marathas under Gopal Rao overran the city of Bangalore and its adjoining territory, and the fortunes of war were going against the Kingdom of Mysore. At such a difficult period, Haidar Ali was entrusted with the supreme

1. The Grand Rebel: Dennis Kincaid. Collin, London 1937, p. 15
2. Ibid. p. 79

command of the armed forces to face the Maratha might. It cannot be said that Haidar Ali emerged victorious in his first fight against the Marathas, but he did retrieve the position of his people and, after a peace treaty was signed between the two hostile forces, the Marathas retreated. Haidar Ali from this day onward was virtually the most important power in Mysore, whose finances and army at that time lay prostrate in a state of utter exhaustion. The army was in a sullen mood its wages mounting up in arrears. Haidar Ali alone could save Mysore, and he did. Without any opposition, or perhaps with the silent consent of the parties concerned, he automatically assumed virtual control of the Government.

However, he was not to remain in peaceful possession of the position that he came to occupy. Internal intrigues and treacherous alliances with the Marathas dogged his steps, but he was more than a match for all. The defeat of the Marathas at Panipat in 1761 came as welcome news to Haidar Ali, and he found his sworn enemy, the Marathas, in a more chastened mood after that defeat. The external foe had been met, but treason within Mysore itself began to trouble him, and it came out in the open in 1761, when he carried the fight to its relentless conclusion, and the King of Mysore conceded defeat. Haidar Ali was now in actual fact the King of Mysore. The soldier of yesterday was the Sultan of today. Thereafter his conquests went on pushing the boundaries of his dominions further and further. Haidar Ali wrested Mysore from feeble hands in 1761; Bednore fell to him in 1763-5; Soonda in 1764; Malabar in 1765-6; Barah Mahal in 1764-6; the states of some petty Hindu rajas and of Purseram Bhow in 1774-7; part of the Carnatic in 1776. By 1778, he had considerably shattered the army of the Marathas.

Concerning his wars with the English, W. W. Hunter writes, "The reckless conduct of the Madras Government had roused the hostility of Haidar Ali of Mysore and also of the Nizam of the Deccan, the two strongest Musalman powers in India. These attempted to close the Marathas into an alliance against the English. The diplomacy of Hastings was to back the Nizam and the Maratha Raja of Nagpur; but the army of Haidar Ali fell like a thunderbolt upon the British possessions

in the Karnatik."[1] His wars against the English had not completely eliminated that power in India, but he had certainly stemmed the rising tide of their conquests. "He had not indeed achieved," comments Browning, "his main object of driving the English out of Southern India. But he had overrun large tracts of their country, occupied most of their principal forts, and fought steadily and with success against his antagonists."[2] If the Nizam had remained Haider Ali's friend and ally instead of plotting and intriguing against him as a tool of the English, and if the French had adopted a more resolute attitude against the English than they actually did, Haidar Ali would have turned the course of history. In the face of these serious handicaps, it is not surprising that he did not fully succeed in his anti-English designs, the surprising thing is that he did attain a measure of success not possible under such difficult circumstances. Campbell's comments fully vindicate the correctness of this assessment, when he writes, "Haidar Ali was an extraordinary man, and perhaps possessed as great natural talents as any recorded in the pages of history... Perfectly illiterate, he has not only emerged from his native obscurity by the vigour of his mind and body but became the object of terror and admiration to surrounding potentates."[3] Assessing his administrative abilities, Munro comments, "Every department, civil and military, possesses the regularity and system communicated to it by the genius of Haidar and in which all pretensions derived from high birth being discouraged or extirpated, justice severely and impartially administered.... ...and almost every department of trust or consequence conferred on men raised from obscurity, gives the Government a vigour hitherto unexampled in India."[4]

The extent of his kingdom was "not less than 80,000 square geographical miles, yielding a clear annual revenue of about three million sterling..... Peopled by upward of six million inhabitants.... about 144,000 well disciplined troops, together a standing militia of 180,000 men."[5]

It is not only as a soldier of undoubted military genius

1. A Brief History of the Indian Peoples: Sir W. W. Hunter, p. 191.
2. Browning p. 101.
3. Campbell, Duncan: Records of Clan Campbell: Bombay 1925, p. 88.
4. Sinha, N.K., Haidar Ali: Calcutta 1949, p. 258.
5. Hyder Ali Khan and Tippoo Sultaun, by M.M.D.L.T. pp. 31-32.

that history records the life of Haidar Ali, but also as a man of sterling qualities, a man who had broad human sympathies. Haidar Ali was annoyed with his brother-in-law, Mukhdoom, for his conduct of the war during the expedition to Pondicherry, although Mukhdoom had, in actual fact, proved himself to be a skilled general and a brave soldier on the battlefield. When Haidar Ali met him publicly on his return, he was indignant towards him and publicly insulted him for failing to raise the siege of Pondicherry. Without waiting for his reply or for any explanation, Haidar Ali degraded Mukhdoom to the rank of an ordinary soldier. Other officers and soldiers, who had accompanied Mukhdoom in his expedition to Pondicherry entreated with Haidar Ali and assured him that Mukhdoom had been a source of great strength and inspiration to the home forces. When Haidar Ali was convinced that he had erred in his judgment of his brother-in-law, he ordered his grand *Sawari* to be prepared, so that he could go to the house of Mukhdoom, followed by the whole assembly, to beg his pardon. As they marched to his house, they met Mukdhoom in the bazar, walking on foot like a common soldier. As soon as Haidar Ali saw him, he descended from his elephant, approached Mukhdoom, embraced him cordially several times, and said, "I find, by the account of your friends, that I was wrong in blaming your conduct and was going to your house to make an apology for my error. I am happy that I have met you, that the satisfaction I make may be the more public." Haidar Ali asked Mukhdoom to mount his elephant, and he himself mounted a horse and followed Mukhdoom until he had led him back in honour to his house.[1]

At the time when Haidar Ali was the Regent of Mysore, one of his first acts was to get exact accounts prepared of the royal revenues and the royal treasure and jewels. He discovered that instead of their being in the public treasury, they were pawned with the court banker, who had acquired them by fraudulent means. Haidar Ali ordered that the jewels and the treasures be taken away from the banker, but his dues be paid to him. At the same time, he appointed a Commission to inspect minutely all these transactions. The Commission found the banker guilty of misrepresentation and fraud, and

1. Hyder Ali Khan and Tippoo Sultaun, pp. 43–44.

ordered that he be sentenced for life and that all his property be confiscated by the State. Haidar Ali ordered the judgment to be put into execution, but fixed a pension for the aged banker, and took the banker's sons in his own service.[1]

During Haidar Ali's stay at Rana Bidnoor there was a conspiracy by the King and Queen of Canara to blow up the house where Haidar Ali was staying. The conspiracy came to be known, as a Brahman of the place exposed the Queen's plot to Haidar Ali. The plotters were put to death, but he spared the life of the King and Queen of Canara, taking them as prisoners-of-war. "The discovery of the conspiracy was worth a fine Kingdom to Hydar . . . . The immene quantities of rice, pepper, cinnamon, cardamom, coral, sandalwood and ivory that abound in this kingdom have caused it to be called the granary and warehouse of all India. In the mountains there are mines of gold, diamonds, rubies, and other precious stones and even in the fortress of Rana Bidnoor, there is a gold mine. . . . . . . Hyder found an immense treasure in gold, coined and in ingots, in trinkets and precious stones . . . . . The prince caused pearls and precious stones to be measured with a corn measure. Having made two heaps of gold in ingots and trinkets, they surpassed the height of a man on horseback."[2]

In 1767, Madame Mequinez, the widow of a Portuguese officer, whom Haidar Ali had held in high esteem, informed him that a Jesuit priest had cheated her of all her property in cash and jewels, and had left Coimbatur and fled to Goa. Intelligence also reached Haidar Ali that some of the Christian priests, under the garb of mission activities, were in actual fact engaged in espionage work. He ordered "A general of four sepoys and a corporal" to be posted at every mission, but gave strict instructions that the priests shall be permitted "to perform their functions. . . . . . without impeding them in the least . . . . . and to treat them with every mark of respect." Haidar Ali appointed a French commandant in his army to inquire into the allegations against the Jesuit priest, which the officer was reluctant to undertake, saying that "Not being a man of law, he could not pretend to undertake the distribution of justice, for fear of erring through ignorance." Haidar

1. Hyder Ali Khan and Tippoo Sultaun, pp. 48–49.
2. Ibid. pp. 57-58.

Ali replied, "Certainly, you who are youself a Christian, must be better acquainted with the law of the Christians than any judge in my dominions; and since my intention is that every one shall be judged by his own law, you cannot avoid accepting this commission." An inquiry was made by the French commandant and he found that the accusations against that particular Jesuit priest and against the Christian missionaries in general were absolutely fabricated. On this Haidar Ali ordered, "I am persuaded that the whole is an iniquitous contrivance against the revered fathers." "He immediately gave orders to remove the guard he had placed over the Jesuits." Madame Mequinez stood thoroughly exposed; "The good fathers were not, however, disposed to pardon the lady spiritually; she was ex-communicated, and condemned to public penance."[1] This incident throws adequate light on the religious tolerance of Haidar Ali.

The Raja of Coimbatore owed allegiance to Haidar Ali, who was informed by a French surgeon that the Raja had been operated upon by him successfully, but after he was cured, the Raja was refusing to pay him his fees. The surgeon asked Haidar Ali to remove the Raja from his royal office. Haidar Ali replied it was a private affair of the Raja, and he could not, therefore, depose him. But he advised the surgeon to request his friends, the French officers and soldiers, to "Let no water come into the Raja's home till you are paid." This was done. "The water carriers not daring to approach the palace, the surgeon received payment."[2]

Supremely confident of his own invincibility, Haidar Ali was, however, extremely humble. He believed that Man was merely an instrument in the design of Divine Providence, that everything emanated from God, that success and defeat were in God's hands. Once, while arranging the strategy of war, he addressed his soldiers and officers to stand steadfast at their posts, inspite of heavy enemy pressure. As for himself, he said that the enemy was very strong, "But, notwithstanding their number, I do not despair. It is the power of God that has raised me, and I possess nothing but through Him; as long as He supports me, I shall look down on my

1. Hyder Ali Khan and Tippoo Sultaun, pp. 97 to 106.
2. Ibid. p. 109.

enemies; and if He should forsake me, I must submit with resignation to his pleasure."[1]

Haidar Ali was a farsighted General. Realising that with the advent of the English on the sub-continent, it was not enough to have only land forces, but that he must also have strong naval defences, he undertook to organise a powerful navy. But for the purchase of this, he had to depend on the Europeans, who were unwilling to oblige him. Nonetheless, Haidar Ali succeeded in possessing the semblance of a naval force. His navy "was composed of a ship purchased of the Danes, pierced for sixty guns, but furnished with no more than fifty; three others of thirtytwo guns; eighteen palms, vessels both for rowing and sailing, and carrying fourteen guns; and about twenty large galliots, carrying eighty men, and two cannons. Three or four English Company's frigates, that are always ready armed in the Indian Sea......."[2]

The fortunes of the English in India were still in the keeping of the East India Company, the value of whose shares had sky-rocketed in London, due to the phenomenal successes that the Company had achieved. But with the emergence of Haidar Ali as a power to be reckoned with, there came a time when the English were no longer the irresistible wave of con quest that they had proved to be. When Haidar Ali, however, attacked Madras, where the English were firmly entrenched, he threw the English forces into disorder and confusion, paving the way for the capture of that city. "The fugitives from the environs of Madras having spread themselves all over the coast, carried the news of the capture of that town by Haider; and it came to Europe by way of Pondicherry, Tranquebar, and the other European settlements. The caravans, and every possible conveyance distributed this news, with pleasure; for the jealousy and hatred that other nations have conceived against the English, smothered the account they themselves had given of their victory at Tranmale. The consequence was that the price of the Company's stock, at London, fell at once from 275 to 222."[3] While the value of the Company's shares were at a low ebb on the London Stock

1. Hyder Ali Khan and Tippoo Sultaun, p. 126.
2. Ibid. pp. 161-162
3. Ibid. p. 202.

Exchange, the reputation and fame of Haidar Ali as a redoubtable enemy of the English was spreading far and wide on the sub-continent.

Once the outcome of a particular battle, although of not much importance, had gone against Haidar Ali and it was "variously narrated, according to the distortions of the narrators." His mother received alarming reports and she was seriously concerned about the future of her brave son. She left Haidar Nagar to see her son in his camp stationed in Savari, about one hundred and fifty leagues from that city. On being informed that the Queen Mother with her retinue was nearing Savari, Haidar Ali, along with his sons and his army, marched out to meet his mother and to accord her a royal welcome. The retinue of Haidar Ali's mother consisted of two hundred ladies mounted on horses. "They were enveloped in large pieces of thick muslin, which prevented even the smallest part of their clothes from being seen." When Haidar Ali and the Queen Mother were alone in her tent, he asked her why she had undertaken such a long journey during the difficult rainy season. She replied, "I was desirous, my son, of seeing how you bear the ill-fortune you have sustained." Haidar Ali, in all humility, explained, "If heaven should put me to no greater trial, I should find no difficulty in supporting it."[1] Haidar Ali believed intensively in God. Everything, he believed, was from Him.

Eight days after the capture of Mangalore, Haidar Ali, assisted by his son, Tipu Sultan, inflicted a crushing defeat on the English "taking the whole English army, consisting of the General, forty-six officers, six hundred and eighty English troops, and above six thousand sepoys, together with all their arms and baggage." Embracing his son, he wept for joy. "The Portuguese settlers believing that the English would win, had helped the English, and after the victory were acting as the agents of the English and were intriguing against Hyder Ali." "As soon as Hyder was informed of this circumstance, he called these merchants (Portuguese) to appear before him, with the chief of the Portuguese factory, and several Christian priests belonging to the three churches at Mangalore." He asked them according to their laws what punishment was to

1. Hyder Ali Khan and Tippoo Sultaun, pp. 205-206.

be inflicted on those, who had betrayed their benefactor and their sovereign and had helped his enemies. One of the Portuguese officers promptly said that it would be nothing short of death. Haidar Ali, however, replied, "I do not judge in that manner, for our laws are milder.....since you have made yourselves English by engaging to serve them, your property shall be adjudged to belong to Englishmen; and yourselves shall be thrown into prison till I make peace with that nation."[1] He was unafraid in defeat, and magnanimous in victory, often cancelling a death sentence on those who richly deserved it, and reducing it to a sentence for a specified term in prison.

Haidar Ali's brother-in-law, Mirza Ali Khan, had received every kindness and generosity at his hands. But tempted by the Marathas and the English with large territories to be conquered from Haidar Ali, Mirza Ali Khan had turned traitor and joined his forces with Haidar Ali's enemies. For a while Haidar Ali appeared to be overwhelmed by heavy odds, but he was soon turning the tables against his enemies. Then came a day, when Mirza Ali Khan repented over his disloyalty and treachery towards Haidar Ali Khan. Mirza with a large number of his followers approached Haidar Ali's camp in order to beg his forgiveness, in spite of the advice of his well-wishers and close advisers that he was taking a dangerous step, and that Haidar Ali would capture him and kill him. When he was brought into Haidar Ali's presence, Mirza said, "I offer my head to your mercy." Haidar Ali raised him, embraced him, and said, "This is no surprise to me, Mirza." His sins and crimes were forgotten and forgiven.

The life of Haidar Ali is interspersed with conquests in war and victories through good deeds on the battlefield of life, where he rose to be a powerful monarch. Lacking the advantages of a sound education, he educated himself in the active school of warfare and thus came to acquire an extensive knowledge of war and politics. "Hydar Ali Khan was doubtless one of the greatest characters Asia has produced."[2] He rendered justice with impartiality and was a great patron of

1. Hyder Ali Khan and Tippoo Sultaun, pp. 225-226.
2. Ibid. p. 258.

agriculture and commerce. "He was indulgent to his subjects, but strict in his discipline of his army."[1]

He was generous to his soldiers and his officers. Some time before he died, he distributed from the public treasury one month's salary as gift to every one in his army, which consisted of a total strength of at least 180,000 men. Essentially a man of action, he did not like those who were prone to talk a lot, or to win his favours through the art of flattery, a common weakness of Eastern potentates. He was fired with an irrepressible passion to subdue the English and the Marathas, so that his people may be saved the humiliation of an alien domination. Dedicated to this noble cause, he developed a boundless energy for patriotic pursuits, never allowing pride or vainglory to befog his mind. He was a stickler for established regulations for work, never sparing himself to work long hours, and he expected the same discipline from those that worked under him or for him. "All the operations or measures undertaken by Hyder's Government, small or great, were superintended by himself in person; insomuch that even leather, the lining of bullock bags, or tent walls, and strands of rope, all passed under his inspection, and were then deposited in his stores."[2]

The horse was a very useful animal in times of peace and war, and Haidar Ali had a special liking for horses. He paid fabulous prices for some of the best horses that he purchased. "If, on the road through his territories, any horse by chance died, he paid half the price of the horse, after the arrival of the tail and mane, with a certificate from the civil officers of the district."[3]

A hard working man himself, he was indulgent to his soldiers, who were devoted to their duty and worked hard. But the indolent and those that were prone to easy living came under his displeasure. Ostentatiousness was contrary to his nature, and he looked upon it as the enemy of the life of a soldier. "The backs and sides of his negligent and extortionate servants were frequently softened by stripes and the whip. A man that had been removed from his place, after proof of neglect or mal-administration of his duties to

1. Hyder Ali Khan and Tippoo Sultaun, p. 259.
2. Ibid. pp. 259-260.
3. Ibid. p. 260.

Government, or of extortion, extravagance, or oppression of God's people, and whose delinquencies were attested by official persons, was never restored to his office."[1]

Haidar Ali was a devout Muslim, but his religious outlook embraced within its fold sympathy for all other religions. He had a benevolent and reverential attitude towards Hindus and Christians. Although he was continuously fighting the English, who professed the Christian Faith, yet, within his own dominions, he was gracious and generous towards the Christian priests. Whenever he was approached for financial help for building or repairing mosques, he would respond generously, and this generosity he equally bestowed over Hindu temples and Christian churches. Far from being a religious bigot, he looked upon it as his sacred duty as a ruler that every one living in his territories fully enjoyed religious freedom and the right of worship according to his own lights. The Mysore Archaeological Report, 1916, contains copies of original letters sent by Haidar Ali to the holy priests in charge of the temple of Sree Saran Giri Swami Nath and some other temples, wherein it is stated that he had sent cash to the priests for the upkeep of the Hindu temples, and clothes, food and fruits for the inmates of the temples.

Haidar Ali was about five feet six inches tall, of brownish complexion, "His features were coarse, his nose small and turned up, his lower lip rather thick; and he wears neither beard nor whiskers."[2] He normally wore clothes and turban of white muslin. But, when attired for his military duties, he wore a military dress invented by himself for his generals—a uniform consisting of a vest of white satin, with gold flowers, held by cords of the same colour, and a red turban. The trousers were of the same material, and the boots were of yellow velvet. If he rode on horseback in his military uniform, he had a sword dangling by his side, and, if walking, he would carry a gold-headed cane. Unlike other kings of the time, he was not much fond of jewellery.

He had a handsome face, and there was something in the way he looked at people that inspired confidence. One was conscious that one was in the presence of greatness. A brilliant

1. Hyder Ali Khan and Tippoo Sultaun, p. 260.
2. Ibid. p. 15

conversationalist, he left one in no doubt as to his real intentions. "It is most astonishing, that this sovereign asks questions, gives answers, hears a letter read, and dictates an answer to another, beholds a theatrical exhibition, and even seems to attend to the performance—at the same instant that he decides concerning things of the utmost importance."[1]

He was easily accessible to all those who sought to meet him, "The Fakirs are alone excluded from this indulgence; but when one of these appears, he is conducted to the Peerzada or grand almoner, who supplies his wants."[2]

Working hard over his military strategy and over his duties of civil administration, Haidar Ali worked until midnight, and always rose with the sun. Immediately thereafter he plunged himself into the day's work, listening to letters received for him and read to him by secretaries of various departments and dictating answers to them. After breakfast, Haidar Ali enters the hall of audience, where he discusses matters of state with his secretaries, signing on the spot all the answers dictated or orders issued. "To the packet is joined a paper, denoting the hour it was sent off; and at every station the time of its arrival is marked."[3] The ministers, generals, ambassadors and other important persons meet him in the forenoon. After the foreign emissaries or ambassadors have completed their business with the King, "betel is then presented to the stranger, and it is understood as equivalent to a permission to retire."[4] The work of the day completed, Haidar Ali retires for his afternoon siesta. He did not take lunch, as he lived all his life on two meals a day—one at eight in the morning and the second a little before midnight. The floor of his bedroom was covered with expensive Persian carpets, but over them was always spread a white muslin cloth. Haidar Ali had a special predilection for white colour, even the painted gilt on his furniture was covered with white muslin.

"There is, for the most part, a comedy every night, that commences about eight in the evening, and lasts till eleven;

1. Hyder Ali Khan and Tippoo Sultaun, p. 17.
2. Ibid. p. 17.
3. " p. 21.
4. " p. 258.

it is intermixed with dances and songs."[1] Haidar Ali was fond of playing chess.

He also delighted in the royal game of hunting wild animals, the stag, the roe-buck, the antelope and the tiger. When the tracks of a tiger were found, the hunters surrounded his hiding place, and contracted the circle by degrees. When the tiger emerged into the open, and roared, Haidar Ali would attack the animal, and he would seldom fail in killing the wild beast.

"If a battle has been gained, or any other glorious event has happened in favour of the prince, the poet of the court arrives . . . all the world, at the voice of the poet, becomes silent and attentive . . . . The comedy or dance is interrupted; the poet enters . . . and recites a poem . . . The poem. . . .is of short duration."[2] "At the present time, the court of Hyder is the most brilliant in India; and his company of performers is without contradiction the first."[3] The dancers are superior in their performance to the comedians and singers; it may even be affirmed that they would afford pleasure on the theatre of the Opera at Paris."[4] Usually, Haidar Ali asked some of his friends and relatives to stay with him after the comedy was over and to have supper with him. After the cares of the day and their consequential burden, he loathed solitude and a lonely meal. Reticent and speaking with gravity with strangers, he freely conversed with the select company that he would invite to his nightly dinners.

Busy as he was warding off the attacks of the Marathas and the English, facing the enemies within the boundaries of his own realm, consolidating his position, he had no time to adequately look after his own health. He was dedicated to the cause of freedom, and such personal considerations occupied a secondary position in his scheme of things. For a long time he had suffered excruciating pains in his back as a result of cancer. He was carrying the murderous germs of this disease within his soldierly body, and it was only his robust nature that had enabled him to live such a busy and dangerous

1. Hyder Ali Khan and Tippoo Sultaun, p. 24.
2. Ibid p. 25.
3. " p. 25.
4. " p. 27.

life, inspite of his failing health. The fatigue of long marches, undertaken in good and bad weather, the responsibilities and anxious moments that go with military campaigns, were making heavy inroads on his health. By November, 1782, while camping with his army, he found himself in a very poor state of health. He retired to the city of Arcot, where he died on the 1st of Moharrum, 1197 A.H., equivalent to 6th December, 1782.[1] "His death was for several days kept a profound secret, and the body was privately sent away by night on the road to Sera. By their taking this route, it was probably the intention of his friends to have him buried near his father at Kolar; but, by direction of his successor, the body was conveyed to Seringapatam, and buried with much state, under a magnificent mausoleum, in the garden called Lall Bag."[2]

1. Hyder Ali Khan and Tippoo Sultaun, p. 258.
2. Ibid. p. 258.

TIPU SULTAN

(1740—1799)

Haidar Ali died at Arcot on 6th December, 1782, and the sad news reached his son, Tipu Sultan, on 11th December, while engaged in a battle against the English at Paniany, about forty miles south of Calicut. He was overwhelmed with grief at the death of his father, who had been his friend and mentor, and who had from his early life devoted so much time and care to Tipu's education and upbringing. He hastened towards Seringapatam, reaching that city on the 20th, where he found the whole populace plunged in gloom. "Tipu Sultan had a brother named Karim Shah, he associated much with Fakirs and Dervishes, which conduct gave much offence to Hyder, notwithstanding he was a great favourite of his father."[1] Tipu Sultan thus had no difficulty or opposition either in assuming the supreme command or the army of in succeeding to the throne left vacant due to his father's death.

Tipu Sultan attended to the funeral rites with the utmost solemnity and dedication, and ordered that his father's last resting place should be a befitting tribute to his valour and patriotism. When some ten years later, to be exact on 7th February, 1792, the English took possession of Seringapatam and desecrated the mausoleum and other buildings in Lal Bagh, on the eastern side of that city, and when the news of this act of barbarism reached Tipu Sultan, he was furious. When the British found it "impossible to procure any other materials for making fascines and gabions, Lord Cornwallis was under the necessity of permitting the cypress and other beautiful trees to be cut down for that purpose. The palaces and cloisters were, at the same time, converted into hospitals for the sick and wounded."[2] Tipu Sultan, infuriated at this, ordered

1. The History of Hyder Ali Khan and Tippoo Sultaun by M.M.D.L.T., p. 265: W. Thacker & Co., London, 1855.
2. Ibid. p. 288.

his cannon to be fired at the English, who were busy desecrating the spot, which to Tipu Sultan was so sacred. "The Sultan's proud mind was much irritated at seeing this charming spot, to ornament which he had bestowed so much pains, thus laid waste, and the tomb of his father contaminated by those whom he considered as infidels."[1] Tipu Sultan continued to hold the memory of his father in great reverence to the last day of his life.

It would be appropriate to briefly outline the history of the ancestors of Haidar Ali and of Tipu Sultan. "The illustrious Husun, son of Yahya, who was one of the heads of the noble family of Korish.... obtained a commission from the sublime porte, a Shureef of Mecca and Medina, in his 35th year."[2] Husun had two sons, Mohammad and Ali. The latter died in his infancy, while Mohammad had a son named Uhmud. Mohammad died in 874 and his father Husun died in 875. On the death of the two elder members of the family, Uhmud being only fifteen, was passed over and the high appointment held by the family passed on to an outsider named Syed Ubdool Mulik. Annoyed at this affront to himself and his family, Uhmud left for Yemen and settled in Sunaa, where due to his fine appearance and his great tact and intelligence, he married the daughter of the Governor. At the time of his death, his father-in-law declared Uhmud to be his successor, placing his own son, five years old, in Uhmud's care. Fifteen years passed in peace, when an ambitious adventurer, Solim, instigated the son of the late Governor, now twenty years old, to fight his brother-in-law, hoping to become himself the commander-in-chief, if the plot should succeed. Solim killed Uhmud with a poisoned dagger, while having a private audience with him. Uhmud had a faithful slave, named Qumbur, who avenged his master's death by assassinating Solim with his own hands, but taking care before this murder that Mohummud, the thirteen-year-old son of Uhmud, was taken in safety to Baghdad. There he married the daughter of a nobleman, through whom he had three sons, only one of whom, Ibraheem, survived. Ibraheem

1. The History of Hyder Ali Khan and Tippoo Sultaun, by M.M.D.L.T., p. 288
2. Ibid. p. 383

amassed enormous wealth and when he died he left behind a big fortune and a son, named Husun, one year old at the time.[1]

The young Husun lost all the money made by his father, and was compelled to leave his native city for India, and he came and settled in Ajmer. Husun married in Ajmer, and when he died he left behind a son a few months old, named Vulee Mohumed, who after his marriage migrated to Delhi and then to Goolburga in the Deccan. His son Mohumed Ulee married "the daughter of one of the votaries of the celebrated saint Bundah Newaz Gasooduraze, the long-haired." After the death of his father, Mohumed Ulee migrated to Colar. He died in 1109, leaving behind four sons, Shaika Mohumed, Mohumed Ilyas, Mohumed Imaum, and Futtah Alee, alias Futtah Mohumed.

Of these, "Futtah Mohumed, who was living at Arcot, invited Boorhnoodeen, a very respectable person descended from a priest, from Tanjavur, and married his daughter, while his brother Imaum married his sister-in-law. A short time after he departed for Mysore, and there had two sons named Shhbaz and Vulee Mohumed, the latter of whom died in infancy; the death of his son grieved him much, and he took his family with him to the great Bolapore. In the year 1129 A.H. a glorious son was born named Hyder Shah (father of Tipu Sultan), afterwards known as HyderUlee Khan Bahadur."[2]

Through his first wife Haidar Ali had one daughter, but no son. His wife was constantly sick and it became clear she could no more conceive any children. Haidar Ali, eager to have a son, asked permission from his wife to get married to another, in the hope that she would give birth to a son. The consent of his wife having been obtained, Haidar Ali married "the daughter of Nur Moinaddin, a person of respectable family, and who for several years was governor or lord of the Fort of Kuddapah."[3] It turned out to be a happy marriage, but the two parents were unhappy that they had been married for four years without being blessed by the birth of a child. Haidar Ali took his wife along with himself to a saintly person called Mustan Wali, who assured the two that he would pray

1. The History of Hyder Ali Khan and Tippoo Sultaun, by M.M.D.L.T., pp. 384-385
2. Ibid. p. 386.
3. Ibid. p. 261.

for them and that their wish would be fulfilled. His prayers were heard and, "during this lady's pregnancy, she, in compliance with a custom frequent among the natives of India, paid a visit to a Pir, or saint (Mustan Wali), to beg for blessings on her child, and prayers for her safe delivery. Her wishes being acceeded to, the holy man informed her that her son would become a powerful monarch, and requested she would confer on him the name of Tipu; his commands were obeyed, and the boy, when born, named Futteh Ali, Tipu."[1] Different historians have given different dates of Tipu Sultan's birth, but Charles Stuart, in 1808, in his "Catalogue and Memories of Tippoo Sultaun", wrote, "Tippoo Sultaun was born in the year 1740."[2]

Haidar Ali was overjoyed at the birth of a son, and celebrated the event in a befitting manner. He became extremely fond of Tipu, and devoted on him all the love and care that a father is capable of. However, he did not want him to be a spoilt child, as was customary in so many noble families of the time, and so he brought up his son on a pattern of stocial discipline. "Sensible of the disadvantages under which he himself laboured for want of education, procured for his son the most able masters in all the sciences cultivated by the Mohammedans, and enforced, by strict discipline, the attendance of the youth to his studies."[3] From a very early age, as usual with children in Muslim families, Tipu learnt the Holy Quran under able teachers of the Holy Book. Tipu Sultan continued to have a liking for studies and books throughout his life, in spite of the fact that his life was spent mostly on the battle-front, fighting to preserve the freedom of his peoples and of his country. He was a great patron of men of letters, and encouraged them to write books, paying them princely stipends to enable them to devote all their time to reading and writing. Among the many books that were written during his time and under his patronage were *Khulasa-e-Sultani*, *Al-Mujahedeen*, and *Jawahr-al-Quran* by Qazi Ghulam Ahmed, who was the head Qazi of Seringapatam at that time. Another such book was *Futuh-Namah-Tipu Sultan*

1. The History of Hyder Ali and Tippoo Sultaun, by M.M.D.L.T., p. 261.
2. Ibid. p. 261.
3. Ibid. pp. 261-2.

by the poet, Husain Ali Izat, a book of poetry, commemorating some of the victories of Tipu Sultan. This elegy begins thus :—

Ajaeb Suno Dostan Dastan
Jiske Bayan Men Qasir Hai Zaban

Another book written under the Sultan's patronage by the poet Izat was *Mafah Al Quloob*, in which he has recorded his views on classical music.[1]

When Tipu was born, Haidar Ali was only an officer in the service of Mysore, and thereafter his rise was phenomenal. When Tipu was five, Haidar Ali was appointed Governor of Dundeeghal, and a year later he became a general in the Mysore Army. It is possible Haidar Ali attributed his phenomenal rise to the birth of Tipu, and this increased manifold his love for his son. Haidar Ali engaged such great scholars as Nasiruddin Turk and Husain Ali Izat as his teachers, and under their able guidance Tipu developed a love for learning.[2]

Tipu grew up to be a handsome and dashing young man, and his father began to plan in his mind the marriage of his favourite son. He decided on getting his son married to the daughter of Imam Sahib Bux, one of his noblemen. But Tipu's mother was vehemently opposed to this match, being determined that her son would get married to the daughter of one of her relatives, Lala Mian. Husband and wife argued the question for a long time, each maintaining that the other's choice was entirely wrong. This domestic quarrel was ultimately resolved by Haidar Ali, who decided that Tipu should marry both the girls at the same time. Thus the dispute between his father and mother gifted Tipu with an additional wife, and he found himself in his youth the husband of two wives.[3]

Haidar Ali engaged able instructors to teach Tipu the martial exercises of riding, shooting and fencing. As he grew up, Tipu learnt under his father the tactics of war, and the discipline and the art of war, especially as practised by the Europeans at that time. His first personal experience was in the years 1767 and 1768, when his father invaded the Carnatic.

1. Basaer, by Nasiruddin Hashmi, p. 315.
2. Basaer, by Imtiaz Muhammad Khan, p. 32
3. Ibid p. 36

Young in years, but brave on the battlefield, Tipu commanded a corps of cavalry, rendering an excellent account of himself as a general. At this time he laid waste a great part of the neighbourhood of Madras. When Haidar Ali was engaged in a relentless war against the Marathas from 1775 to 1779, Tipu was a great source of strength to his father, and his daring exploits at that early age clearly marked him out as an outstanding military general and leader of men of the future. In July 1780, "when the army of Hyder Ali rushed like a prodigious torrent into the Carnatic", Tipu was in charge of a force of 18,000 cavalry, 6,000 infantry and 12 pieces of cannon. Tipu distinguished himself in all the battles he fought under his father, and Hydar Ali looked upon his son with great inner satisfaction as the man of destiny after him. In a subsequent engagement with the English, Tipu annihilated the English army under Colonel Bailey and, "for this action he received much applause from his father who, from that period, considered his son as one of his most able generals."[1] Tipu also ably assisted his father during the sieges of Vellore, Permacoil, Chingleput, Wandewash and Trichinopoly.

After having attended to the funeral rites of his father at Seringapatam and having declared himself the successor to his father, Tipu Sultan returned to Arcot to fight the English, taking command of the entire operations in his own hands. His father had spent his whole life fighting the English with a view to preserve the freedom of his peoples, and to this end Tipu Sultan now dedicated his whole life. His determination to rebel against the English was not actuated by historical expediency, but by an inborn conviction that the success of the English would result in the servitude of his nation. "Human beings emancipate themselves only on the basis of natural groups."[2] and his people under his inspired leadership rallied to his call to fight the common foe.

In April 1783, Tipu Sultan, marching at the head of an army of 100,000, engaged the English in a battle near Bednore. General Matthews was in charge of the English forces and fierce fighting took place between the two opposing armies. Tipu Sultan's superior tactics succeeded and he laid siege to the

1. The History of Haider Ali Khan and Tipu Sultaun, by M.M.D.L.T., p. 262.
2. The Rebel, by Albert Camus, Penguin Books, p. 9.

fort of Bednore, and the English garrison, overcome by heavy odds, was forced to capitulate. The following terms were agreed upon. "The garrison to be allowed the honours of war, and to pile their arms on the glacis. They were to retain all their private effects, but to restore all public property. They were to be marched by the shortest route to the sea-coast, and thence conveyed by shipping to Bombay; and to be supplied, both on the march and passage, with provisions and every other requisite."[1] Subsequently, due to "the embezzlement of the treasure found in Bednore by General Matthews, and the wanton behaviour of the troops," Tipu Sultan put many English soldiers and officers in jail.[2]

After his resounding victory at Bednore, Tipu Sultan proceeded to rescue Mangalore from the English, who were entrenched in that city under Major Campbell. In this venture, Tipu Sultan had the active assistance of the French army. But when the fighting had started in right earnest, the French deserted him, as peace had been declared in Europe between the English and the French. This was a stunning blow to him, but Tipu Sultan was lion-hearted, and it was in circumstances of grave peril that he rose to heroic heights. To add to his troubles, General MacLeod arrived by sea from Bombay with a large contingent of English forces. The fighting that ensued was ferocious, until Sir George Staunton arrived from Madras and a peace was drawn up between Tipu Sultan and the English. Freed from the cares of this front, he went with his army to fight the Marathas, who had been at their old game of striking blows to the rising Muslim power in the South. Tipu Sultan attacked and captured the forts of Darwar and Badamy, and "the possession of the fortresses gave him complete command of all the Maratha districts south of the Gutpurba and Kistnah rivers."[3]

Tipu Sultan was a far-sighted general. Surrounded as he was by the English and the Marathas, both of whom were after his blood, he ordered that provisions be stored up at Seringapatam to last his army of 100,000 for one year. In 1787 and 1788, Tipu Sultan marched with his army against

1. The History of Haider Ali Khan and Tippoo Sultaun, by M.M.D.L.T., p. 266:
2. Ibid. p. 267.
3. Ibid. p. 269.

Coorg, as the latter had rebelled against his authority. "In the space of eight months some 80,000 persons, men and women, were made prisoners, with several chiefs, and many of their strongholds and towns were reduced."[1]

Tipu Sultan was a devout Muslim, who spent money freely for the building of mosques and for providing a living to people who were devoted to the teaching of Islam. Brought up in soldierly traditions, Tipu Sultan was temperamentally a puritan. This is evident from the fact that "he also prohibited the sale of intoxicating liquors, and ordered that all the date and palm trees in his kingdom should be rooted up, and the cultivation of them in future prohibited; though by so doing he greatly decreased the amount of his revenue . . . . ."[2] Nonetheless, he dealt with all his subjects, irrespective of their religious beliefs, with utter impartiality. He often made grants of huge sums of monies to Hindu priests and Pandits for works connected with their religion. In this connection it may be pointed out that there are three letters, written by Tipu Sultan in Kanarese, which are at present in the Serin Giri Math at Seringapatam, and which speak eloquently of Tipu's tolerance in the matter of religious beliefs of his subjects.[3] In matters pertaining to state affairs, he depended on the advice of ministers, some of whom were Hindus, and "his favourite Dewan (Prime Minister) Purnea" was also a Hindu.[4]

Tipu Sultan had fought against the English during the lifetime of his father and also after he ascended the throne, and his personal experience had convinced him that in order to be successful against the English, he should have the active assistance of the well-equipped French army. In order to ensure a permanent and lasting alliance with the French, he sent in 1784 Ghulam Ali Khan and two of his trusted advisers as ambassadors to the Court of France, and the three reached Constantinople, but due to considerable obstacles, they returned to Mysore in 1786. Tipu Sultan was disappointed. However, once again he selected three of his advisers, Mohammad Darvesh Khan, Akbar Ali Khan and Mohammad Osman Khan,

1. The History of Haider Ali Khan and Tipu Sultaun, p. 270.
2. Ibid. p. 271.
3. Bassar, p. 204.
4. The History of Haider Ali Khan and Tippoo Sultaun, p. 270.

who left Pondicherry in a French vessel on 22nd July, 1787, and reched Toulon on 9th June in the following year. "They were most graciously received by Louis the Sixteenth, who, at their public audience on the 10th of July, displayed all the pomp and grandeur of his court."[1] However, "pressed with the load of enormous national debt, and alarmed by the symptoms of general discontent which soon after burst forth, he (Louis the Sixteenth) could only assure the ambassadors of his friendship for their master, and promise of future assistance, when delivered from his own cares and anxieties."[2] The three emissaries returned empty-handed to Seringapatam in May 1789.

"Tipu Sultan was one of the most remarkable persons in the history of Islam. At a time when most Muslim politicians and leaders were still incapable of discovering the importance of the rise of European nations, Tipu developed a world consciousness...... He thought of entering into an alliance with one European power to defeat another on an international basis, and visualised an alliance of Muslim powers to meet the new challenge."[3]

In June, 1789, Tipu Sultan led his army against the Raja of Cochin, and succeeded in capturing several of his cities and forts. The Raja solicited the help of the English, who readily sent a strong army under Colonel Hartley. The English had decided to go all out to crush Tipu Sultan, who was the only man who seemed to thwart their designs of establishing English Raj in India. The English supported the alliance of the Marathas and the Nizam of Hyderabad Deccan against Tipu Sultan. English diplomacy succeeded, and Tipu Sultan found himself opposed by the combined forces of the English, of the Marathas and of the Nizam. Tipu Sultan, with his army, withdrew from Travancore and returned to Seringapatam.

The combination of the English, the Marathas and the Nizam was proving too formidable for Tipu Sultan, more so as the French were refusing to ally themselves with his cause. Therefore, in 1792, these combined forces proved to be overwhelming and Tipu Sultan "at length agreed to cede to the

1 The History of Haider Ali Khan and Tippoo Sultaun, p. 272.
2. Ibid. p. 272.
3. The History of the Freedom Movement,, by I. H. Qureshi, p. 35.

allies one-half of his dominions, the annual revenues of which were worth 90 lacs of rupees (£900,000); to pay to them in the course of twelve months, the sum of three krore and 30 lacs of rupees (£3,030,000)"[1]. In this hour of his crisis, his subjects, both Hindus and Muslims, stood by him. His council of ministers met to devise ways and means of collecting by way of taxes the amount of 3 crore rupees. New taxes were levied, and the people willingly responded, "and in lieu of three, ten krore were collected".[2]

Tipu Sultan could see that unless the English were defeated, they would succeed in setting up an alien imperialism over India. He was a born freedom fighter, and he could not reconcile himself to such an eventuality. He carried on correspondence with Governments outside India—with France, Afghanistan, Persia, Nepal and Mauritius to help him to defend their liberty against the usurpers, the English. But his attempts in this direction did not meet with any success.[3] Relentless and rebellious against the English, he merely wanted to defend the most cherished of all his possessions—liberty and freedom—possessions which were worth preserving, even if in their defence Tipu Sultan was forced to sacrifice his life. During his last battle against the English, Tipu Sultan said to his close associates, "as a man could die only once, it was of little consequence when the period of his existence might terminate."[4]

On the death of his father, Tipu Sultan had inherited a state covering 80,000 square miles, and to this he had added, among other territories, Adoni, Sanore, Koorke, Anagoondy, Kurpah, Kurnool and Imteazgur. At one time, when he had ordered an inventory to be made of his treasures and jewels, it was found they were worth eighty crore rupees. He also had 700 elephants, 6,000 camels, 11,000 horses, 400,000 bullocks and cows, 100,000 buffaloes, 600,000 sheep, 300,000 firelocks, 300,000 matchlocks, 200,000 swords, 22,000 pieces of cannon. "He found a new code of regulations for his army. He reduced the cavalry, and augmented the infantry. He adopted Persian and Tartar terms for the words of command,

1. The History of Haider Ali Khan and Tippoo Sultaun, p. 290.
2. " p. 294
3. " pp. 295-6.
4. Ibid. p. 306.

which were previously given in English and French, and gave new names to the different divisions of the army."[1] His spirit, in spite of his reverses, soared to kiss heroic heights, but the petty-mindedness and treachery of other Indian powers around him, dragged him down, thus paving the way for Western domination.

His face was now furrowed with the wrinkles of age, anxiety and care. In his youthful days he was a handsome prince. He was five feet nine inches, having a round face, large and sparkling dark eyes, an aquiline nose, and an expression of eagerness and animation perpetually adorned his face. "He wore mustachois, but shaved his beard." He was fond of an active outdoor life, and, therefore, Tipu Sultan often indulged in horse-riding and "in hunting especially the lion and tiger, which is performed on horseback." When he could not afford time for these activities, "he frequently took long walks, what is very uncommon in princes of the East." However, he had a great love for books, and he would devote some time to reading each day of his life, unless he was on the war front. He passed a great portion of the day in his study. He was of brown complexion and, despite his active and vigorous ways of life, was "inclined to corpulency."[2]

The care and attention that was given to Tipu's education during his father's time paid rich dividends. He showed a keen interest in collecting books for his personal library, which was indeed a difficult undertaking in those days, when most of the books were handwritten manuscripts. Tipu Sultan's library is said to have contained two thousand books, each of which bore the royal seal of Tipu Sultan's library. After Tipu Sultan had read a book, it would be once again stamped accordingly. After the death of Tipu Sultan, this most valuable library of rare manuscripts fell into the hands of the British.[3]

"Marquis Wellesley, later Governor-General, sensible of the utility of a library at the new institution at Fort William, Calcutta, was pleased to order that the immense and valuable library of the late Sultan be transferred to that place, which was accordingly done—a part of the same, with other

1. The History of Haider Ali and Tippoo Sultan, pp. 31-32.
2. " pp. 312-313.
3. Basaer, by Hakim Mahmood Ahmad Barkati, pp. 318-337.

valuables, being sent to the East India House in England. The valuable Bird of Paradise, formed with precious stones, and other parts of the Sultan's throne, his armour, swords, muskets, and other curious articles, were placed in Windsor Castle."[1]

During the days of Haidar Ali, and subsequently during the the lifetime of Tipu Sultan, Urdu was fast spreading as an important language of the sub-continent. It had reached Mysore, and there was a sizable population that could speak Urdu, although the court language continued to be Persian. But both Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan gave every encouragement to Urdu, particularly the latter, being a great patron of learning. Tipu Sultan patronised Urdu poets of the day, some of whom were Shah Mohamed Sadruddin, Shaikh Mian Fazalullah Faquir, Shah Kamaluddin Kamal and Mir Husain Ali. Tipu Sultan also established at Seringapatam what may be considered equivalent to a modern university.[2] According to Mahmood Khan Mahmood Bangalori, Tipu Sultan was a good poet in Urdu and he had also written a number of books in Urdu, besides having commissioned many authors to write books in Urdu.

Different authorities have held different opinions as to who, when and where started the first newspaper in Urdu. Shaikh Mohamed Ismail Panipati claims that in 1794 Tipu Sultan ordered an Urdu press to be installed in Seringapatam, which would have Arabic type, so that a newspaper could be brought out in Urdu. The royal command was obeyed and the press started working. A newspaper was printed at the press, and it was called "Fauji Akhbar". As it was a military paper, it was distributed among the officers in the army, and did not reach the masses. "Although Persian was the language of the court, Tipu Sultan was far-sighted enough to see that the day would soon come, when Urdu would become the language of the people."[3]

Tipu Sultan could speak fluently in Arabic, Persian, Kanarese, Urdu, English and French. He was a good student of the science of palmistry and astrology. A soldier by

1. The History of Haider Ali Khan and Tippoo Sultaun, by M.M.D.L.T., p. 313.
2. Basaer, by Prof. Sayed Ahmad. pp. 338-347.
3. Basaer, by Shaikh Mahommed Ismail Panipati, pp. 348-351.

upbringing and training, he liked to have fine military marches for his army. Being fond of music, he is reported to have composed some military marches himself. One such march sang :

Barq jan koh giran paike ajal daste kaza
Teg wo gurz wo teero wo khanjar ke hain char nam.[1]

Tipu Sultan had a special piano fixed in one of his palaces, as also a statue of an Englishman, near where the piano was installed. The piano would play with the roar of a lion, and on this through the mouth of the statue would emerge the trembling voice of an Englishman.

Haidar Ali had carved out a kingdom for himself in the face of opposition of the Marathas and the English, and Tipu Sultan continued to rule over Mysore, but there was no despotism under their rule. Under Tipu Sultan the basic law was *Shar* and, like a true Muslim, he admitted in a letter to the Nizam that his people "constitute a unique trust held for God, the Real Master." He thus filfilled the basic concept of a Muslim Government—all sovereign power rests with God. He called himself "a citizen of Mysore", in order to fully identify himself with the masses of his people. His people were prosperous and contented, and his territories were "the best cultivated and its population the most flourishing in India."[2]

Tipu Sultan introduced many administrative and other reforms during his time, thus entitling him to be called a progressive and a benevolent ruler of his people. Although he was the undisputed head of the Government, the administration of his kingdom worked through well-defined departments, which were eighteen in number, but which were later on expanded. Each department carried on its administration, and the Sultan exercised an overall jurisdiction and control over them. He also introduced reforms in his army and, like his father, gave special attention to building a powerful navy. In this connection, "In 1793 he built a naval college at Bhatkul for training in modern methods of naval warfare."[3]

1 Basser, by Mahomed Sakhawat Mirza, pp. 293-306.
2. History of British India by Mill, Vol. VI, p. 105, Lanlam 1848.
3. Tipu Sultan, by Dr. Mahmud Husain. History of the Freedom Movement, Vol. I, pp. 465 to 490.

For purposes of land assessment, Tipu Sultan divided agricultural land in two categories—land depending on rain, and land irrigated by rivers and tanks. The value of the crop actually produced was the measure of taxation, and not the area of land possessed. The cultivator paid his land assessment both in cash and kind. Tipu Sultan was keen on agricultural development and to achieve this object, he granted Government waste lands on terms favourable to the peasantry, there being a complete moratorium on land rent chargeable for the first year, and partial moratorium for the next four years. He encouraged farmers by giving them taqavi loans, thus minimising the tyrannical imposition by usurpers. His laws severely punished those found guilty of enforcing forced labour on the peasants. An appropriate estimate of his revenues could be said to be around rupees two crores a year.

Tipu Sultan realised the enormous importance of increasing commerce and industry in the national economy of a developing country. He established his own trading companies at important seaports, on the model of the East India Company. He seems to have had some overseas trade as well, as he had established a factory at Muscat, from where a two-way traffic was maintained in commerce between Muscat and Mysore. For concession received from the Sultan of Muscat, he reciprocated by giving a concession in duty of 4 per cent on articles imported from Muscat. He had a trading officer in Jeddah, and trade commissioners and ambassadors in France, Turkey, Iran, China and Burma. He was a great patron of the private sector, and encouraged merchants within his kingdom to expand their trade and industry, both within his territories as also outside. Among the industries he developed in Mysore, special mention must be made of the silk industry. He encouraged skilled French artisans to take employment in his factories, with a view to improve their products. These foreign technicians worked in his factories at Seringapatam, Chialdrug, Bangalore and Bednur, where "besides guns, muskets and other arms they manufactured cutlery, knives, scissors, and watches."[1]

In order to mitigate the disadvantages of under-employment in an agricultural economy, Tipu Sultan encouraged cottage industries, particularly pottery, wood-work, ivory-work

1. Tipu Sultan, by Dr. Mahmud Husain: History of the Freedom Movement, Vol. I. p. 481.

carpet-making, and glassware. He introduced reforms in the field of coins and currency. When he succeeded his father, he inherited only two mints, but he went on steadily increasing them, until there were twelve in all, at Seringapatam, Bednur, Gooty, Bangalore, Chitaldrug, Calicut, Satyamangalam, Dindigul, Gurram-Konda, Darwar, Mysore and Ferokh.

Tipu Sultan's favourite animal was the lion, and he was himself lion-hearted; his favourite hero of history was Hazrat Ali, because of his bravery on many battlefields in the cause of Islam. Many of his weapons of war had inscribed on them one of the titles of Hazrat Ali, namely "Asadullah-ul-Ghlib'.[1] He was a dedicated Mujahid, carrying on an unending fight against his foreign foes. He preached Jihad to his soldiers, and in the first chapter of his Army Manual, *Fath-al-Mujahidin*, it is said that "Jihad against the aggressive disbelievers for the triumph of the Faith is described as real Islam."[2]

Tipu Sultan's first fight against the English was when he was about seventeen, under the able command of his father, Haidar Ali. He was now fifty-eight, having spent over forty years carrying on this struggle against the foreign enemy. In one of his memorable addresses to his officers, he is said to have encouraged them to fight the British in the following words, "To live a day like a lion is far better than a hundred year's life of a jackal". The English were out to bring all the princes of India under their suzerainty, and Tipu Sultan was determined to resist their domination.

In June 1798, Marquis Wellesly was actuated by the imperial designs of the English in India to deal a final blow to the Grand Rebel of the South, Tipu Sultan. From now on military preparations of the English were directed to this one purpose. He sent threatening letters to Tipu Sultan, accusing him of inviting the French and other outside powers to come to his help to fight the English. Tipu Sultan realised that the English were amassing all their forces to have a final trial of strength with his army. Wellesly issued orders "on 3rd February 1799, for the British armies, and those of the allies, immediately to invade the Sultan's dominions."[3] On

1. Tipu Sultan, by Dr. Mahmud Husain: History of the Freedom Movement, Vol.I. p. 485.
2. Ibid, pp. 486-487.
3. The History of Hyder Ali Khan and Tippoo Sultaun, by M.M.D.L.T., p. 299.

11th February, the British army, under the command of General Harris, marched from Vellore and were joined by the forces of the Nizam, heading towards Seringapatam. On 4th March the combined armies camped on the frontier of Mysore, and on the following day hostilities commenced. The British army, assisted by the forces of some Indian princes, far outnumbered the army of Tipu Sultan. In spite of this grievous handicap, Tipu Sultan marched at the head of his army from Seringapatam to Madur, in order to give battle to the enemy. After a brief initial success, Tipu Sultan's army left the battle-field, leaving a great number of dead. After resting his army, he again marched to meet the British under General Harris. In a fierce battle on the 27th, Tipu Sultan found he had lost a great number of officers and over a thousand of his best soldiers.

Meeting reverse after reverse, Tipu Sultan was compelled to retreat to the fortified city of Seringapatam. Surrounded by the British army, he wrote a letter on 9th April to the British Commander, General Harris, "The Governor-General Lord Mornington Bahadur, sent me a letter, a copy of which is enclosed; you will understand it. I have adhered firmly to treaties. What then is the meaning of the advance of the English armies and the occurrence of the hostilities?"[1]

On the 14th, General Harris received reinforcements, with the arrival of the Bombay army, and on the 20th the English army attacked the entrenchment on the south bank of the river. On the 22nd, General Harris sent to Tipu Sultan a draft of the terms on which the English would make peace with him. The Sultan replied on the 28th that being an important matter it needed discussion and "I am therefore about to send two gentlemen to you, and have no doubt but a conference will take place."[2] General Harris refused to meet the two emissaries and told the Sultan either to accept the terms *in toto* or to face the consequences.

Tipu Sultan was not to be bullied, and he knew that the terms of the English were so humiliating that they were more than a military defeat. He quietly but determinedly began preparations for a final show-down. Fighting broke out in all its

1. The History of Hyder Ali Khan and Tippu Sultan, by M.M.D.L.T., p. 303.
2. Ibid p. 305.

fury on 3rd May 1799. At this time, the Sultan was living in one of the gateways, called Gullaly/Didy, on the northern rampart, in order to be near the place of attack. He addressed his army and said, "I would defend the fort to the last extremity, and that, as a man could die only once, it was of little consequence, when the period of his existence might terminate."[1] The next day saw the situation precariously poised for Tipu Sultan, but he did not show any signs of panic or fear. As he returned for a respite to his apartment, a procession of Brahmin astrologers waited on him, and announced that some terrible misfortune might take place, and that it could be averted by prayers and by pious offerings. To this suggestion the Sultan agreed.

In the afternoon the Sultan left his apartment. "He was dressed in a light coloured jacket, with trousers of fine chintz, a sash of red silk, and a rich turban. He wore two embroidered belts with precious stones, in one of which was his sword and from the other was suspended a cartouch box. He had also tied on his right arm a talisman, composed of prayers and verses of the Koran, enclosed in a silver case."[2] When news was brought to him that one of his commanders, Syed Ghofar, had been killed, he quietly said, "Syed Ghofar was a brave man, and feared not death; he has obtained the crown of martyrdom."[3]

He returned late in the evening to his apartment for dinner. But before he could finish his dinner, he was disturbed by a fierce noise, which indicated that the British had once again renewed the attack. "He instantly washed his hands, buckled on his sword, and ordered his Fusils to be loaded."[4] When he came to the battle-front, he soon perceived from the fate of his fugitive army that things were going against him. He repeatedly fired on the English and killed several of them. However, "when the front of the English column approached where he stood, most of his attendants having deserted him, the Sultan was obliged to retreat."[5] Then he mounted his horse and endeavoured to enter the town, the

1. The History of Hyder Ali Khan and Tippoo Sultan, by M.M.D.L.T., p. 306.
2. Ibid p. 307.
3. „ pp. 307-8.
4. " p. 308.
5. " p. 308.

entrance being crowded by numerous fugitives. "Whilst in this situation, a party of his horsemen fired into the gateway, and wounded the Sultan in the left breast." Soon after he received another would in the right side. His horse being severely wounded fell under him, and his turban fell to the ground. The Sultan lay on the ground, severely wounded. One of his attendants suggested that the Sultan let the English know who he was in the hope that they may save his life. "This he disdainfully refused."[1] Some more English soldiers arrived on the scene, one of them attempted to relieve the Sultan of his richly ornamented belt. "The wounded Prince, who still held his sword in his iright hand, made a cut at the soldier, and wounded him about the knee; when the latter *instantaneously fired his musket and shot him through the* temple, which caused immediate death."[2]

After the fighting was over, the Commanding Officer, General Baird, came in the evening, accompanied by several servants of the Sultan to search for his body. There he lay, that great hero and rebel, "his countenance was no way distorted, but had an expression of stern composure. The turban, sash, sword and belt were gone."[3] The body lay in the palace for the night and in the afternoon of 5th May, 1799, the funeral procession, very largely attended, and with the utmost solemnity and dignity, moved from the fort. The body was lowered amidst the firing of guns, into a grave dug near the mausoleum of his father, H idar Ali. "A charitable donation of 12,000 rupees was distributed to the different fakirs and poor persons who attended the funeral."[4]

Over the simple grave of the martyr a plain tomb of marble was later on erected with an inscription in Persian, which, translated in English would read, "As Tippoo Sultaun vowed to wage a holy war, the Almighty conferred the rank of Martydom on him, the date of which Shuheer declares thus: 'The Defender of the Faith, and the Sovereign of the World, hath departed.' Composed by Syed Abdal Cadir,

"A.H. 1213" called, poetically, Shehir."[5]

1. The History of Hyder Ali and Tippoo Sultaun, by M.M.D.LT., p. 309.
2. Ibid. p. 309.
3. " p. 309.
4. " p. 311.
5. " p. 312.

HAJI SHARIAT ALLAH

(1781-1840)

When oppression and tyranny ride the back of a people, there comes a time when the people are stirred into action to throw off the hateful burden. During the period that they put up with suffering without protest, they present the spectacle of dumb creatures groping in the dark, searching for the hero of history. With the arrival of the man of action on the scene, they take a turn on the road marked "suffering", to which they have been accustomed for so long. A new phase has already been reached; a new chapter comes to be written in their history; people are on the march; oppression and tyranny yield place to the will of the people. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, the Hindu zamindars and money-lenders were fleecing the Muslim peasants of East Pakistan. Their iniquitous taxes and monetary impositions had gradually impoverished the Muslim masses, driving them to live below subsistence level; and their arbitrary social edicts had inflicted humiliating conditions on the Muslims, against which they protested with the loud voice of silence. So long as the socio-economic whip of the Hindu zamindars was on their backs, the Muslim peasants could never expect a fair deal from the Hindu. Justice, like happiness, must be a living force to spread the sunshine of life in the garden of existence. But long-suffering, like disease in the human body, had impaired their will for independence. They thought they were powerless before the might of the Hindus, and that they must continue to endure what they could not cure. The history of the transformation of the Muslim peasants of East Pakistan, from being subservient to the Hindu zamindars to becoming their vocal and militant antagonists, is in fact the history of the life and work of Haji Shariat Allah. It was he who made the Muslims at such a difficult and critical period of their history to realise the enormity of their own strength, which, like any other weapon, one must know how to use. And out of the

leadership that he gave and the following that he was able to organise from the Muslim peasants of East Pakistan there was born what is known as the Faraidi Movement.

In the second half of the eighteenth century, there lived in the sub-division of Madaripur in East Bengal a small land-owner called Abdul Jalib Talukdar. He owned a small piece of land and passed his days looking after his land and making enough money to live a respectable life. He was happily married and in the year 1781 a son was born, who was named Shariat Allah. The exact place of his birth is not known; some maintain that he was born in a village called Shamail and others assert that he was born in a neighbouring village named Hajipur, both in the subdivision of Madaripur. He lost his mother when he was still very young, and his father died when he was hardly eight. Orphaned early in life, the young Shariat Allah found parental protection under the roof of Azimuddin, the brother of his father. As Azimuddin and his wife had no son of their own, they looked upon Shariat Allah as their own son, and lavished on him all the love and care that a son receives from his parents.

There is no evidence to show that Shariat Allah went to school while he lived with his aunt and uncle. But it is recorded that when he was about twelve, there was a quarrel between him and his uncle, which greatly upset him. Extremely sensitive by nature, Shariat Allah left his uncle's house without any intimation and headed for Calcutta. Eager to learn, he was soon searching in Calcutta for opportunities so that he could be able to study the Holy Quran. His wanderings led him to a mosque, where Maulana Basharat Ali taught the Holy Quran to the boys of the neighbourhood. The Maulana was struck by the look of intelligence on the boy's face, and he readily enrolled him as a student in his *muktab*.

Having completed the reading of the Holy Quran under the Maulana's care, the young Shariat Allah left Calcutta for Phurphura in the Hughly district, in order to learn Arabic and Persian. During the two years that he studied at Phurphura, he devoted all his time to his books, and at the end of two years he obtained proficiency in the Persian and Arabic languages. One of his uncles, Ashiq Mian, was working in the Court of Murshidabad. After completing his studies at

Phurphura, Shariat Allah went to live with his uncle at Murshidabad. Ashiq Mian was glad to receive his young nephew, and being himself well versed in Persian and Arabic, started giving Shariat Allah lessons every day in the literature of these languages. The year that he passed as a student under his uncle, Ashiq Mian, proved to be greatly beneficial to Shariat Allah.

Ashiq Mian and his wife were very fond of Shariat Allah, so that when they decided to go on a short visit to Shamail, their ancestral village, they took their young nephew with them. They undertook the journey in a small boat, at first to Bakarganj, from where they would proceed to Shamail. The river wore a sullen look, and the sky was heavily overcast. While the boat was on its way to Bakarganj, a ferocious storm burst in all its might. The boat for a while braved the weather and the waves, but was ultimately engulfed by the rain and the storm. Ashiq Mian and his wife met a watery grave, and the young Shariat Allah escaped death by a hair's breadth. It is not sure whether he looked upon this as an ill omen or not, but the fact remains that after this tragedy Shariat Allah changed his mind. Instead of heading for Shamail, he decided to take the road to Calcutta. He already had a friend and a guide in the person of Maulana Basharat Ali in Calcutta, and to him he came directly after reaching the city. The Maulana was glad to receive his old pupil, who had spent the four years of absence profitably, enriching his mind with a profound religious education.

The teacher and pupil spent long hours, discussing problems connected with theology and with current worldly affairs. The Maulana made no secret of his hatred for the English, whom he considered as infidels, and who were in the process of snuffing out Muslim rule and setting up their own supremacy in India. To that extent it can be said that the Maulana must have been a politically conscious individual. The young and impressionable mind of Shariat Allah was profoundly influenced by what he heard from the Maulana, and thus at a very early age Shariat Allah developed a keen sense of indignation against social, economic and political disabilities imposed upon the Muslims of Bengal. It was obvious to him that the change of power from Muslim hands to the English

had worked to the greater disadvantage of the Muslims than that of the Hindus. The condition of the Muslim peasantry of East Bengal was pitiable indeed. The Maulana was disgusted at the state of affairs prevailing in the country, and he was planning to leave India for good and to settle in Mecca. He conveyed his wish to his pupil, who was equally enthusiastic and he expressed a desire to accompany the Maulana. The two left Calcutta in 1799 for Mecca, and it took them some months to accomplish the journey. Shariat Allah was at that time only eighteen—young in years, mature in knowledge; full of promise; full of enthusiasm.

On arrival in Mecca, the question arose as to where they should reside, as they intended to stay in Mecca more or less permanently. This problem was settled by Maulana Murad, an immigrant from Bengal, offering them accommodation in his house. This offer was readily accepted, and for two years Haji Shariat Allah learnt Islamic history and jurisprudence under the guidance of Maulana Murad, who was himself a great scholar in these subjects. Haji Shariat Allah profited a great deal by becoming a student of Maulana Murad. During a chance acquaintance, Haji Shariat Allah greatly impressed Mohamad Tahir Sombal Al-Mecci, who was reputed in Mecca as a wellknown jurist of the Hanafi School of thought, and he became his disciple. The master and pupil became devoted to one another, and this relationship between the two lasted about fifteen years. Tahir Sombal was a versatile genius, and he imparted to Haji Shariat Allah a firm and comprehensive knowledge of Islam and of theology in general, besides introducing him to Islamic sufism. Haji Shariat Allah had dedicated his life to the study of Islam, and under Maulana Murad and Tahir Sombal, he found a unique opportunity to live a life devoted to religious studies. Maulana Murad must have been a lovable individual, as he seems to have left an indelible impression on the youthful mind of Haji Shariat Allah who, even in his later life, held the memory of his teacher in the highest esteem.

Haji Shariat Allah was well aware of the reputation of that great seat of learning in Cairo, the Al-Azhar University, and his mind was bent on spending one year as a student at that University. He spoke about it to Tahir Sombal Al-Mecci, who

was at first reluctant to allow his favourite student to part company with him, but ultimately gave his disciple permission. Haji Shariat Allah left Mecca for Cairo, and was soon enrolled as a student at Jamia Al-Azhar. Here he had ample opportunities of furthering the horizons of his knowledge, and this was supplemented by his reading hundreds of books with which the library of the University abounded, dealing with all branches of learning. It is recorded that Haji Shariat Allah was a constant visitor to the library, where he spent most of the time he was free from his classes at Al-Azhar. After an absence of about two years, Haji Shariat Allah returned to Mecca, where he was once again almost all the time with his master and guide, Tahir Sombal Al-Mecci. It was now almost nineteen years since Haji Shariat Allah had left his own country, and he felt within himself an irresistable urge to once again visit Bengal. While Tahir Sombal wanted him to continue his stay in Mecca and to continue to study under him, Haji Shariat Allah thought he must go back home. In the end Tahir Sombal consented to agree with the wish of his disciple, and so in 1818 Haji Shariat Allah left Jeddah for Calcutta.

Haji Shariat Allah was now thirty-seven, a man whose mind had enriched itself a great deal by his wide travels and by his wider study of many branches of learning. He was shocked to see the conditions of the Muslims of East Bengal, and his penetrating mind began to analyse the causes that had been responsible for this state of affairs. He must have recalled the long talks he had with his first teacher, Maulana Basharat Ali, who had spoken with so much passion against the British and the Hindu zamindars. As he viewed the contemporary socio-economic-political scene, he was stirred to his very depths, and he was determined to do his bit for the regeneration of the Muslims of East Bengal. It may be appropriate here to give a brief survey of the historical causes that had brought about conditions which were a challenge to the dignity and self-respect of the Muslims of East Bengal.

"The greater part of the peasant population throughout Eastern Bengal is Muhammadan."[1] In that part of the subcontinent the Muslims had been progressively reduced to a pitiable condition. So long as Muslim rule extended over

1. The Indian Musalmans: W. W. Hunter, p. 113.

Bengal, they enjoyed the status of being an important part of the population. But with the gradual establishment of the British rule in Bengal, they were being gradually driven to desperation. The Muslims had owned a substantial portion of agricultural land in Bengal, and they had a place in the hierarchy of tax-collectors under the Muslim rule. "The English obtained Bengal simply as the Chief Revenue Officers of the Delhi Emperor. Instead of buying the appointment by a fat bribe, we won it by the sword. But our legal title was simply that of the Emperor's Dewan or Chief Revenue Officer. As such, the Musalmans hold that we were bound to carry out the Muhammadan system which we then undertook to administer. There can be little doubt, I think, that both parties to the treaty at the time understood this......"[1]

Writing in 1871, W. W. Hunter opined in his book, "A hundred years ago, the Musalmans monopolized all the important offices of the State. The Hindus accepted with thanks such crumbs as their former conquerors dropped from their table, and the English were represented by a few factors and clerks."[2] All this had changed under the British, whose patrongage in the case of Government appointments were extended exclusively to the Hindus, to the complete exclusion of the Muslims. "The proportion of the race which a century ago had the monopoly of Government, has now fallen to less than one-twenty-third of the whole administrative body."[3] The Muslims could see their progressive impoverishment and the gradual rise of the Hindus under the British, but they were not organised enough to make a fight of it. "For there is no shutting our ears to the fact that the Bengal Muhammadans arraign us on a list of charges as serious as was ever brought against a Government. They accuse us of having closed every honourable walk of life to professors of their creed ..... They accuse us of having brought misery into thousands of families, by abolishing their Law Officers, who gave the sanction of religion to the marriage tie, and who from time immemorial have been the depositories and administrators of the Domestic Law of Islam. They accuse us of imperilling their souls, by

1. The Indian Musalmans: W. W. Hunter, p. 120.
2. Ibid. p. 127.
3. " p. 127.

denying them the means of performing the duties of their faith. Above all, they charge us with deliberate malversation of their religious foundations..... They declare that we, who obtained our footing in Bengal as the servants of a Muhammadan Empire, have shown no pity in the time of our triumph, and with the insolence of upstarts have trodden our former masters into the mire....... In a word, the Indian Musalmans arraign the British Government for its want of sympathy....... and for great public wrongs spread over a period of one hundred years."[1]

Apart from the vast mass of Muslim peasants, there were many rich and noble families of Muslims in East Bengal. For generations they were looked upon as the natural leaders of the people, and they and their dependants enjoyed a life that was free from want and free from the cares of financial worries. But with the coming of the British in Bengal, even these families came to be faced with untold miseries. British patronage brought to the fore many Hindu families in place of the Muslim families. Those once proud and wealthy families "drag on a listless existence in patched up verandahs of leaky outhouses, sinking deeper and deeper into a hopeless abyss of debt, till the neighbouring Hindu money-lender fixes a quarrel on them, and thus in a moment a host of mortgages foreclose, and the ancient Musalman family is suddenly swallowed up and disappears for ever........A hundred and seventy years ago it was almost impossible for a well-known Musalman in Bengal to become poor; at present it is almost impossible for him to continue rich."[2]

The British began to introduce in the eighteenth century a number of changes in the tax-gathering machinery and in the system of taxation in Bengal, until in 1793 Lord Cornwallis enforced upon Bengal the Permanent Settlement. "The greatest blow which we dealt to the old system was in one sense an underhand one (The Permanent Settlement), for neither the English nor the Muhammadans foresaw its effects."[3] Under the Permanent Settlement, the British usurped the functions and the powers of Muslim revenue officers, who had

1. The Indian Musalmans: W. W. Hunter, pp. 109-111.
2. Ibid pp. 115-117.
3. " p. 120.

all along acted as an important link between the actual Collector and the Government and who had been the enforcing authority for the land-tax. "The Muhammadan nobility either lost their former connection with the Land-Tax, or became mere landholders, with an inelastic title to a part of the profits of the soil."[1] The British elevated the Hindus to the position of tax-collectors and land-owners, positions previously held by Muslims. "The Government adopted a policy of political discrimination. It first removed Muslims from all posts of trust and authority and in the course of time debarred them from all Government employment, replacing them by Britishers or Hindus. Various avenues of trade and commerce, economic prosperity and political power were closed to them."[2] The effects of the Permanent Settlement were carefully studied by James O'Kinealy, who wrote in his report, "The Permanent Settlement has elevated the Hindu collectors, who up to that time had held but unimportant posts, to the position of landholders, gave them a proprietary right in the soil and allowed them to accumulate wealth which would have gone to the Musalmans under their own Rule."[3]

The Hindus, under the changed and favourable conditions, became drunk with power, and they made no secret of their feelings of detestation and contempt towards the Muslims. They imposed upon the Muslims illegal taxes, which were studiedly calculated to offend the religious sentiments of the Muslims. Although many of the cesses imposed were of an idolatrous nature, yet the Muslims were expected to pay them to the Hindus without protesting against them. The combination of the British and the Hindus was too powerful and the poor peasants of East Bengal accepted all that was forced upon them by the might of Hindu landlords and merchants. "Taking advantage of the weakness of the Muslim masses as a result of the overthrow of the Muslim official class and the impoverishments of the Muslim gentry still living in the rural areas, the powerful Hindu zamindars prohibited the slaughter of cows within their estates."[4] The Hindus also "imposed in

1. The Indian Musalmans: W. W. Hunter, p. 120.
2. History of the Freedom Movement: Dr. Abdul Bari, p. 544.
3. The Indian Musalmans: W. W. Hunter, p. 121.
4. Faraidi Movement: Muinuddin Ahmad Khan, p. xciii.

addition a beard-tax."[1] About five decades after the Diwani of Bengal had passed under the control of the East India Company, the Muslims of East Bengal "being without a shepherd, were led more and more away from their national faith, and conformed to many superstitious rites of the Hindus."[2] Soon after his return to his village, Haji Shariat Allah's uncle, Azimuddin, died. Haji Shariat Allah was shocked to see that the Muslims that participated in the funeral rites of his uncle insisted on certain un-Islamic ceremonies, against which he protested strongly.

Having seen the glory of Islam in the Muslim countries that he visited, Haji Shariat Allah's mind revolted at the degraded condition of the Muslims of Bengal. He was determined to dedicate his life to regenerate them, so that they should realise that they could stand shoulder to shoulder and deal a death-blow to the intolerance and arrogance of the Hindus, who were bent on weakening the fabric of their faith. He realised that he should start his work as a reformer among the poorest sections of the Muslims—the down-trodden, dumb, driven peasants of East Bengal. In order to succeed, he was convinced he must live with them, as one of them. He was inspired by a lofty idealism; an idealism that was fostered by a passion to serve his people, and a will to face all odds and to succeed. "With sympathy and understanding he soon won over the hearts of the poor ryots who readily responded to his call to give up customs and practices which were un-Islamic in character and began to act upon the commandments of religion called *Faraiz* or duties."[3] Those that followed him came to be known as *Faraizis*, and the historical movement that this process set into motion came to be called the *Faraizi* Movement.

The Faraizis soon became a power to be reckoned with, and their growing importance posed a real threat to the intolerant Hindu zamindars of East Bengal. In the meantime Haji Shariat Allah came to earn the spontaneous respect and reverence of his followers. But he was a puritan in his outlook, and he would not allow the *Faraizis* to call him a *pir* or a

1. Faraidi Movement: Muinuddin Ahmed Khan, p. xciii.
2. Eastern Bengal, by James Wise, p. 21.
3. History of the Freedom Movement, by Abdul Bari, p. 546.

murshid, as these two appellations smacked of discrimination, which went against the concept of Islamic brotherhood, a principle on which he could never compromise. The *Faraizis* lovingly began to call him *ustad* or teacher. "He forbade *biat*, which was customary at the initiation of a disciple, but insisted upon a *taubah*, repentance, a resolve to lead a pious life......The performance of Hindu rites and participation in Hindu religious ceremonies were stopped. Muslims were carefully led to appreciate their position as Muslims."[1]

In the eighteenth century, English settlers invested large sums of money in East Bengal in indigo plantations. In the European markets, indigo was able to fetch a very high price, leaving the indigo exporters with substantial profits. Along with indigo plantations, the English set up a number of indigo factories in Dacca, Faridpur and Madaripur. The methods adopted by the greedy English plantation owners left no choice to the Muslim peasant, who had to work on their plantations on terms dictated by his English masters. "In the process of payment of remuneration various complicacies cropped up to the utter disadvantage of the *riayats*."[2] The indigo industry was instrumental in the English giving their support to the Hindu zamindars against the members of the *Faraizi* movement. Kinship of interests, namely, shameless exploitation of the Muslim peasantry, tied the Hindus and the English in a common bond, and these two mighty segments of society were jointly pitched in a relentless resolve to crush Haji Shariat Allah and his followers, the *Faraizis*. "The development of the *Faraidi* movement from being a purely religious programme to an economic struggle was because of its upholding the cause of the peasantry against the oppression of the zamindars and indigo planters."[3]

Haji Shariat Allah had taught the down and out Muslim peasants of East Bengal that their real strength lay in their unity; in giving a united fight to the Hindu and the English exploiters. Gradually, subconsciously at first, and then consciously, the Muslim peasantry began to realise that it was better to adopt the virtue of bravery than to embrace the vice

1. *History of the Freedom Movement*, by Abdul Bari, p. 547.
2. *Faraidi Movement*: Muinuddin Ahmad Khan, p. xcv.
3. Ibid. p. cxvi.

of fear and cowardice, which had imperceptibly led them to a state bordering on slavery. It had snatched away from them their most cherished right, namely, the right of worship. They were climbing up a difficult mountain slope, but the peak was already in sight, and they pulled themselves up, inch by inch, towards their goal. "In the broader context of the peasant agitation of Bengal, the socio-economic aspect of the *Faraidi* movement represented an organised attempt of tens of thousands of peasantry, brought to a common platform by religious and doctrinal ties, to get rid of the oppression and extortions to which they were subjected to the new class of gentry, i.e., the Hindu *zamindars* and European planters."[1]

Haj Shariat Allah proved to be a leader of rare talent and a reformer, who had an undying faith in his mission and in his ultimate success. The Muslim peasants responded to his call and gave him an unquestioning following. They were resolved to shake off the anti-Islamic ceremonies and rites that they had been forced to adopt by the Hindu zamindars, and they were determined not only to profess Islam, but to live their lives as true Muslims. "Haji Shariat Allah's work resulted in a stricter observance of Islam and made these poor people scrupulously honest and reliable. They cultivated a new sense of self-respect. Haji Shariat Allah did not start a political movement, but he ruled that Bengal was no longer Dar-ul-Islam and, therefore, Id and Friday congregational prayers could not properly be held...... Great stress was laid upon the ideal of brotherhood and every member of the fraternity had, as a matter of duty, to come to the assistance of his brother who might find himself in distress."[2] On the other hand, "The zamindars and indigo planters were alarmed at the spread of the movement which, if successful, would spell danger to their influence and honour. They, therefore, strongly banned their tenants from joining the reformers and skilfully played on their social prejudices in order to bias them against the teachings of the *Faraizis* and tortured and punished any recalcitrant who dared disobey their warning."[3] The unholy combination of the Hindu zamindars and the English planters

1. Freedom Movement: Muinuddin Ahmad Khan, p. CXVI
2. The Muslim Community of the Indo-Pakistan Sub-continent, by Dr. I. H. Qureshi, pp. 209-210.
3. History of the Freedom Movement, by Dr. Abdul Bari, pp. 548-549.

believed that the law of this world is nothing but the law of strength.

Haji Shariat Allah plunged himself in his work, reforming the Muslims of East Bengal. He was like a storm on two legs, moving from village to village, city to city, addressing gatherings of Muslims, indoors and in public meetings, giving guidelines on how to live their lives as true Muslims. Like many other religious reformers, the efforts of Haji Shariat Allah did not meet with immediate or spectacular success. However, he had sown the seeds of reform in Muslim society. He thought perhaps another visit to Mecca, where he could carry on his studies further, might help him in his mission after his return to Dacca, and so he left Bengal once again for the Holy City in 1820. He stayed in Mecca for about two years, once again studying under Tahir Sombal as his favourite pupil. The Haji was engaged all the time in his studies, and in this he could not have had a better guide than Tahir Sombal. Then came a time, when Haji Shariat Allah begged leave from his master, and after obtaining his blessings he returned to Bengal to continue his crusade against those customs and ceremonies among the peasants of East Bengal, which he held to be un-Islamic. He gave particular attention to the Muslim peasants of Dacca, Faridpur, Bakarganj and Mymensingh districts. "Since his return, he has been engaged in promulgating his doctrines, and he has succeeded in making converts to the number, it is estimated, of one-sixth of the Mussalaman population."[1] He had now won not only the admiration but also the respect of those among whom he worked in the cause of Islam. "His blameless and exemplary life was admired by his countrymen, who venerated him as a father able to advise them in seasons of adversity and give consolation in times of affliction."[2]

The opposition and persecution by the Hindus and English indigo planters grew in proportion to the success with which Haji Shariat Allah's work was being rewarded. These two could easily buy the police on their side, and the Government of the day was always there to oblige them. One case after another was filed by the police all over East Bengal against the

1. Topography by James Taylor, p. 248.
2. Eastern Bengal: James Wise, p. 23.

Faraizis, and many of them were unjustly convicted in courts of law and sentenced to long terms of imprisonment. At times, Haji Shariat Allah was also implicated. "Haji Shariat Allah himself was apprehended by the police. But as no evidence existed against him, he was let off after he had furnished with a bond on security of 200 rupees to keep peace for one year."[1] But the Hindus were determined to make his life miserable and not to allow him to preach his message in peace. "The Hindu zamindars were alarmed at the spread of the new creed, which bound the Muhammadan peasantry together as one man. Disputes and quarrels soon arose, and Shariat Allah was deported from Nayabari, in the Dacca district, where he had settled."[2] Persecution has never damped the spirit or ardour of a devoted reformer, nor has opposition ever prevented him from pursuing his goal relentlessly. And so, in spite of the machinations of the police, the Hindus and the English indigo planters, Haji Shariat Allah's message went on spreading and being accepted by a larger and larger number of Muslim peasants of East Bengal. He had inspired confidence in them, at a time when they believed there was no way out but to acquiesce in what a hostile environment was imposing on them.

Haji Shariat Allah was now about sixty, and a very busy and difficult life had impaired his health. He was a man of strong convictions. "He was a man of middle height, of fair complexion, and wore a long and handsome beard. . . . He was a sincere and sympathetic preacher. . . . . No one ever appealed more strongly to the sympathies of the people than Shariat Allah".[3]

It was the year 1840, and Haji Shariat Allah was confined to his bed in his native village, Shamail. He had waged a long and hard struggle against overpowering odds, and as he looked back on his life, he could draw the satisfaction that he had succeeded a great deal in his mission. In that year he breathed his last, leaving behind for posterity "a blameless and exemplary life." He was buried in the compound of his humble house, and the inscription on his tomb, translated

1. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan, Vol. VI, p. 124.
2. Eastern Bengal: James Wise, p. 22.
3. Ibid. p. 23.

into English, reads, "The learned of all learned, the exponent of Divine Law in eloquent and elegant tongue, the source of all guidance in the lands of Hind and Bengal.... Valiant fighter for righteousness against all falsehood and vanity, deliverer of Islam (which) was covered by darkness like the sun enveloped in clouds, whose words in truthfulness were like mountains in the open field."[1]

1. *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan*, Vol. III, p. 198.

HOSH MAHOMED QAMBRANI

(1801—1843)

Mir Fateh Ali Khan Talpur conquered Sind from the last of the Kalhora dynasty in 1782, and thereafter came to be established the rule of the Talpur Mirs over that part of India. Most of the princes of that dynasty were pleasure-seeking and easy going people, and the cultivation of the art of war was neglected, which was to ultimately result in their downfall. A ruling house, infested with warring tribes within itself, and endangered by powerful and hostile neighbours from without, should have paid the greatest attention to maintaining a well-equipped and well-disciplined army to protect its sovereignty and its frontiers. To add to the problems confronted by many rulers of the Talpur Mir dynasty, the rivalries among the princes of the royal family imposed an added strain on the difficulties under which they were already labouring. The result was that within about fifty years of the establishment of their rule over Sind, the Mirs were a house badly divided, forgetting that in order to perpetuate and strengthen their rule it was most essential to maintain unity within their fold.

With the advent of the East India Company on the sub-continent, its agents were soliciting Indian princes to allow them to set up factories and trading houses within their territories. In pursuance of this policy, Sir Middleton and Walter Payton visited Sind in 1711 on behalf of the Company. During the course of their stay in Sind, they visited the port of Debal, said to have been near modern Karachi and, having studied trade conditions in that part of India, they communicated their findings to President Wilde at Surat, in which they recommended Sind as a profitable spot for establishing their trading interests. On 11th April, 1729, President Wilde wrote, "Synde soliciteth us to settle a factory there, which we mean to attempt". It is not known whether it was due to the

delay on the part of the Company or whether the Company could not come to terms with the rulers of Sind, but the fact remains that the first English factory came to be established in Sind in 1758, during the days of the Kalhoras. Forty-one years later, the Company sent Nathan Crow to establish trade relations with Sind on a better footing, and as a result of his astute negotiations, the Mirs of Sind granted him a Parvana on 26th August, 1799, which laid down that the Company be given "a spot of ground into a country home to the English factory and four bighas of ground for a guard outside the fort of Currachee given to the resident with exemptions from land and tree tax.... and it is commanded that they may be delivered to him whenever he may prefer, there being no inhabitant nor claim of possession". The factory that was set up by the Company in 1799 was closed under the orders of the Mirs in 1800, exactly one year after its permission was granted. This was construed as an affront by the political and commercial agent of the Company, and he wrote to his superiors in Bombay "To take Kurrachee or to stop transactions with the port for a season".

On 9th May, 1809, N. H. Smith of the Bombay Civil Service was sent to Karachi to negotiate a new treaty with the Mirs, and this mission proved to be successful. For thirty years, the Company continued to flourish in its commercial ventures in Sind and the port of Karachi gained in importance. But now the British had thrown off the velvet glove that concealed the iron first, and they were bent on annexing the whole of India as one huge colony for economic and political exploitation. In pursuance of this objective, British troops attempted to land at Karachi under Sir Valiant. The Fort of Manora, which guarded the sea-frontiers of Karachi city, was defended by the representatives of the Mirs, a man called Wussul Ben Butcha. This is not a Sindhi name, and the inference is irressistible that he must have been in the service of the Mirs, and that his real name must have been Wasal Bin Baqa. Wussul opened fire on the English ship *Wellesley*, which was the spearhead of the attack, but the superior weapons of the English soon silenced the guns at Manora. The sea-battle that took place was neither fierce nor of long duration, and not before long the English had landed their forces. The guardian of

the Fort, Wussul Ben Butcha, after some vain opposition hoisted the white flag, seeking terms for a negotiated peace. The British flag went up on the Manora fort, and Karachi was now in the hands of the English.

"The Fort of Manora at the time of the attack had not a single ball in it that would fit any one of the guns; the whole supply of gun-powder amounted to six Kurrachee seers (six pounds)".[1] Whilst this was the state of the defences of Manora Fort, the invading forces were formidable, and from the commencement of the battle it was obvious that the dice was loaded in favour of the foreigners. The English had at their command H.M.S. *Wellesley* with 74 guns; ships of war, *Constance*, *Berenice*, and *Eupharates*, and a large number of country boats, ready to convey ashore stores, ammunition and horses. While the only port of Sind was slipping out of their hands, the Mirs sat at Hyderabad in blissful ignorance of their reverses at Karachi. All kings and dynasties of India had hitherto traditionally believed that the only threat to their territories would be either from the North or from the North-West. They believed that the vast expanse of the sea was their natural defence, and no enemy could be so foolish as to attempt invasion by the sea route. This belief had lulled them into a false sense of security and, therefore, the Mirs had neglected their naval defences. This explains the poor nature of defences that the Mirs had set up at Manora. "What of Manora's fortifications and guns? One of them had no carriage, another which had been found during the landing of the first division that morning had jumped from its carriage which it had destroyed in its violent struggle for freedom, while the only remaining one had evidently resisted every attempt to make it serviceable and had positively declined to go off".[2] Two days after the fall of Manora, a treaty was signed between the British and the Mirs of Hyderabad, which said, "The full possession of the fort and town of Karachi shall be this day given up by the aforesaid Governor to the British forces... In consequence of the fulfilment of those terms, the British officers before mentioned, agree.....that the persons and property of all inhabitants of the fort and town of Karachi shall

1. Annexation of Sind: A. B. Advani.
2. Karachi: Behram Rustomji, p. 9.

be held sacred, and that they shall be at liberty to carry on their business as heretofore....."

Karachi, a part of Sind, had already fallen into the hands of the British, and this was to be a stepping-stone to their subsequent conquest of the whole of Sind.

The importance of Karachi port had been steadily growing since the eighteenth century, and in 1838 Commander Carless of the Indian Navy, in his *Report on the Trade of Karachi* wrote, "The whole of trade of Karachi was estimated at Rs. 21,46,625 .....The most important trades were....and slaves imported from the Persian Gulf and sold for Rs. 80 to 100".[1] Descendants of these slaves sold at the port of Karachi sometimes achieved eminence, and one such descendant of a slave was Hosh Mahomed Qambrani. His father was working for Mir Fateh Ali Khan Talpur, and, invariably, slaves working in the family were treated with consideration and were almost a part of the family itself. Such servants were classified as "Qambrani", named after Qambar, who was a freed slave of Hazrat Ali. Even the children born to them continued to willingly serve the same family, and this went on for generations.

Hosh Mahomed Qambrani, popularly known as Hoshu Shidhi, has become a legendary figure, because of his unmatched bravery in fighting the British, and earning for himself the distinction of being one of the outstanding freedom fighters at the battle of Dabba. But the details of his life are not fully recorded, only a few sketchy references to him being found in books on the history of Sind. Like his father, Hosh Mahomed was a Khanazad ('in the family born') of the house of Mir Fateh Ali Khan. Even the year of his birth is a matter of conjecture, but as he was a constant companion of Mir Sobdar Khan, a son of Mir Fateh Ali Khan, and of almost the same age, it may be presumed that Hosh Mahomed was born around 1801. Of the same age as Sobdar Khan, and being a Khanazad member of the household, there grew up a strong attachment between the two, which developed into true friendship and loyalty in later life, until Hosh Mahomad fell fighting the British on the battlefield of Dabba.

1. *Gazetteer of the Province of Sind*, compiled by E. H. Aitken, 1907.

The birthday of Sobdar Khan coincided with the day on which his father died, and the orphaned child was educated and brought up in the palace of the brothers of his father, who had become the rulers of Sind on the death of Mir Fateh Ali Khan. Probably, since his childhood, Sobdar Khan felt he should have sat on the throne where sat his uncles, and his young mind began to nurse soaring ambitions. In 1826, at the age of twentyfive, he claimed from his uncles his share of the family property, and demanded that he be granted the status and substance of a real ruling prince. His uncles demurred, and Sobdar Khan raised the banner of revolt. "Hosh Mahomed had remained attached to the Prince and was one of his chief supporters".[1] It is not known whether Hosh Mahomed encouraged Sobdar Khan to revolt against his uncles or not, but since the feud between the two parties had taken an ugly turn, Hosh Mahomed continued to remain loyal to his friend and master, Sobdar Khan. Mir Karam Ali Khan, one of the uncles of Sobdar Khan, was a farsighted statesman, and seeing that the family quarrel would weaken the ruling dynasty, he used his good offices, and succeeded in bringing about a reconciliation between his nephew and his brothers. The settlement, though otherwise generous to Sobdar Khan, denied him any share in the administrative machinery, nor did his uncles allow him to share power with themselves. As a result, Sobdar Khan, while paying lip loyalty to the family reconciliation, continued to manoeuvre and plot for opportunities, so that he may take the place of his uncles one day.

The opportunity came when the British launched a severe offensive against Sind. The foreigners, ever on the lookout for native princes, who would support their cause in return for future promises, succeeded in winning over Sobdar Khan to their cause. It was at this time that Hoshu Shidhi proved what an ardent patriot he was. He constantly begged Sobdar Khan not to play into the hands of the enemies of the motherland, and to forget his personal quarrels in the face of external aggression, giving all help to his uncles to defeat the British. Sobdar Khan was, however, made of different stuff. A chronic victim of epilepsy from birth, he developed into a young man, who had not the courage of his convictions. He sought always an

1. Hosh Mahomed Qambarani: Dr. N. A. Baloch, p. 1.

easy way to ascend to the pinnacle of power, and if any suffering or sacrifice was to be entailed in the process, he was not prepared to pay the price to achieve his objective. Surrounded by weak kneed-courtiers and flatterers, as most of the Mirs were, he succumbed to the tempting and rosy pictures painted by them, and that was to prove his undoing.

The British had been anxious for the past few decades to obtain a solid footing in Sind, and to achieve this objective, Sir Charles Napier in January 1843 threatened the Mirs of Sind with dire consequences, if they did not sign the treaty proposed and prepared by the English. He planned his military strategy while the negotiations for the treaty were going on, and on 11th January, 1843, he captured the Fort of Imamgarh, which belonged to the Mir dynasty of Khairpur. By this time, prompted by prudence rather than patriotism, the Mirs had signed all treaties giving the concessions demanded, and hoping to continue as the titular rulers of Sind. The Mirs of Sind were at daggers drawn, each against the other. Mir Nasir Khan, who was the ruler of Hyderabad at this time, was being openly opposed by his cousin, Sobdar Khan, who was secretly on the side of the British. "Mir Sobdar had already benefited greatly by maintaining a steady attitude of friendship and cooperation with the British. He, therefore, pinned his faith on the ultimate triumph, when he might expect further reward; and he persuaded young Hussain Ali to follow his line of policy".[1]

Mir Sobdar Khan was constantly in secret correspondence with Sir Charles Napier, assuring him that he would not throw his lot in with the Mirs of Sind and oppose the British. The English were only too willing to encourage traitors, as they would be a thorn in the side of the Mirs on their home front. Thus, when preparations were being made by the Mirs to give battle to the English at Miani, Sobdar Khan discreetly kept himself and his men away from joining them, with the result that on 17th February, 1843, when the Battle of Miani was fought, Sobdar Khan had kept himself within the fortifications of the fort of Hyderabad. As soon as he came to learn that the English had won the battle and the armies of the Mirs were in flight, he sent his trusted adviser, Munshi Awatrai,

1. Sir Charles Napier and Sind: H. T. Lambrick, p. 49.

a Hindu Amil of Sind, with fruits and sweatmeats and some expensive gifts to Sir Charles. It must be recorded here that Awatral had considerable influence over the vacillating and weak Sobdar Khan, and he had been persuading his master to remain aloof from all entanglements, so that when the English were finally victorious, which according to him was certain, Sobdar Khan may find himself on the winning side. In order to further entrench himself in the good graces of the English General, Sobdar Khan sent Awatral and Musa Armani to him in order to obtain the General's approval to grant Sobdar Khan some time for a personal interview.[1] The only purpose of Sobdar Khan was to get closer to the English and to reap the fruits of his treachery. His emissaries elaborately and eloquently pleaded the cause of their master before Sir Charles, saying that he had taken no part in hostilities.[2] The General asked them to convey to Sobdar Khan to do his best to obtain the unconditional surrender of the Mirs of Hyderabad, whom he would treat with all the consideration that their royal status entitled them to.

Throughout the period of his treacherous dealings, Hosh Mahomed was begging his master to take courage in his hands and to fight the common enemy. But such abstract ideas as patriotism and loyalty vanish into thin air, if a greedy and weak-minded man has accepted his personal interest as the only touchstone for acceptance or rejection of a particular advice. So that while the advice of Hoshu Shidhi was spurned, that of Awatral was readily accepted. Ehsan Ali Shah, a contemporary poet has, fortunately for posterity, recorded in his epic poem on the Battle of Miani the advice tendered by Hoshu Shidhi to Sobdar Khan :—

> Thus entreated Hosh Mahomed, "Oh, Mir Saheb Namdar,
> Your judgement competent keep, and weakness shirk
> Let your son Mir Fateh Ali Khan lead
> Our people, our soldiers, along with me,
> Let Mir Mahomed in charge of home defences be,
> And you join your kin, the Mirs, and strike for victory.
> Heed not the words of Kauro, the traitor,

1. History of Sind: Mirza Kalich Beg, 1902, p. 233.
2. The Mirs of Sind: Divan Chandumal Gopaldas Tadhani, Moti Printing Works, Hyderabad, 1938.

Keep Awatrai at arm's length, a wretch unreliable.
Congratulation sent by your wife's father
On the victory at Miani of our common enemy!
How unworthy they are of a true and valiant patriot.
These news are calamity, not joyous matter.
Men like those, what honour have they left?
The cowards behind remain,
The brave face bullets and death embrace,
Such are men like your father-in-law.
His son and Kauro, your favourite minister,
Must you listen to Kauro and his advice
And close your ears to our well-meaning entreaties?
Tribal chiefship from the English for you,
From the English would Kauro beg.
Unpatriotic! To kill your own to get a crown.
To your cousin Mir Nasir Khan your support give,
His victory is your victory, and that of Sind.
To live with heads erect after one's brothers fall
On the field of battle, is a shame indeed.
Persuade not Sher Mahomed to leave the battlefield.
Join one, join all; join princes, join peoples,
Use your swords like heroes, valiant, brave.
Whither doth honour lie, O Mir?
In being loyal to one's cousins, brothers, family.

These words have to be weighed in the scales of historic perspective. This advice was given by a servant to a prince, when everything was going against the home country and the enemy was slowly but steadily gaining ground, and it was only a matter of days when the British flag would fly over the entire length and breadth of Sind. But Hoshu Shidhi was a brave man, a patriot, who was prepared to lay down his life. He would not yield an inch of ground of his native land to the foreign invading forces. As Hoshu Shidhi unburdened his agonised heart before his master, Sobdar Khan lost his temper, threatened him with harsh words and with promises of punishment at not a distant date, and ordered him to get out of the royal presence.[1]

1. The Mirs of Sind: Divan Chandumal Gopaldas Tadhani, Moti Printing Works, Hyderabad, 1938, p. 31.

One by one the British were arresting or liquidating the Mirs and the tribal chiefs of Sind. Four days after the battle of Miani, to be exact on the 21st of February, 1843, the British soldiers triumphantly entered the Fort of Hyderabad, where Sobdar Khan had kept himself confined, in order to avoid being drawn to fight for the Mirs against the British. The English collected the ancestral treasures of the Mirs, which had been kept for generations in the Fort. Five days later Mir Mahmood Khan and Mir Sobdar Khan were made to sit forcibly in a palankin, and they were led out of the Fort to pass their days in captivity.[1]

Hoshu Shidhi was indignant at the insults heaped on his master, and in proportion increased his hatred for the British. He had watched at first the twilight and then the darkness that was settling over his country, as a result of internal dissension, mutual jealousy, and all round treachery. But he was not a man to be daunted by reverses. He believed that defeats come and go, but no single defeat is final. He took up his sword, collected his brave and faithful band of soldiers, and left Hyderabad to join hands with Mir Sher Muhammad, in the hope that in the battle that would take place thereafter, the British would be liquidated, and Sind freed from the unholy presence of foreign rulers.

Sher Muhammad, already determined to fight the English, and now further strengthened by a valiant fighter like Hoshu Shidhi and his band of brave soldiers, advanced towards Hyderabad on the 15th of March, 1843. Sir Charles had sent out patrols to determine the exact strength and the deployment of the Mir's forces. On the 23rd, Sir Charles moved his formidable army across the Phuleli Canal. After some skirmishes, a pitched battle was fought between the patriotic forces and the invaders, where the superior cavalry of the latter was more than a match for the matchlocks of the former. "Once more the bayonet prevailed; and as the surviving Baluchis fell back, the attackers pressed on and down into a second far wider and deeper entrenched canal, in and behind which the defenders were massed in double strength. Here the fury of the combat reached a yet higher pitch.... those (the English soldiers) whose advances brought them

1. History of Sind: Mirza Kalich Beg, p. 235.

opposite the ranks left by the Baluchis for the passage of their own guns soon forced their way over them, penetrating the defenders' last line".[1] Hosh Mahomed, a brilliant strategist in the art of hand-to-hand fighting, advised Mir Sher Muhammad Khan to retire his forces for the day, so that they may have some rest and renew the fight the following day with redoubled vigour and enthusiasm. Mir Sher Muhammad Khan accepted this advice.

Ali, a rustic contemporary poet, has recorded in verse some details of this battle.

> Ever victorious Ali Murad, son of Sher Muhammad,
> Bravely fought, and ordered, "Attack! Attack!"
> He panic caused in English ranks,
> And their blood freely flowed into Phuleli.
> Then advanced Hosh Mohamed Qambrani
> Charging fiercely, valiantly,
> And with his men defences of the enemy
> Smashed and smashed.[2]

In this battle Hoshu Shidhi fought like a man possessed. He was drunk with the gossamer wine of patriotism, and he shouted at the top of his voice to his men to rally their forces, to charge, to put the enemy to rout. It is said that on this battlefield, he raised the battle cry, which has made him a legendary figure in the pages of our history as a brave freedom fighter against the foreigners.

> My head you may surely take;
> But my Sind I will not forsake.

Many legends continue to be told to this day of his bravery in the face of heavy odds. The same poet, Ali, has recorded :

> Hoshu his life sacrificed
> With love he laid it down
> With a hundred brave companions
> He fought like a giant
> And like a hero died.
> On him no blame,

1. *Sir Charles Napier and Sind*: H. T. Lambrick, p. 165.
2. *Dabe Ji Jang*.

All is from God.
Victory in His hands lies,
To whomsoever He may grant.
Our heroes not an inch they budged.
Our heroes, them we praise.[1]

Even some English historians have paid fullsome tribute to the bravery and heroism of Hoshu Shidhi in his last struggle for the freedom of our country. "Hosh Mahomed Kambrani, together with a devoted band of fellow servants of Mir Sobdar Khan, yielded not an inch of ground, but fighting to the last man died where they stood."[2]

1. Dabe Ji Jang.
2. Sir Charles Napier and Sind: H. T. Lambrick, p. 165.

SIR SYED AHMED KHAN

(1817—1898)

"Often in civilized history a University has supplied the springboard for a nation's intellectuals and intellectual renascence. In our time it has been said that the American Robert Missionary College in Constantinople led to the re-emergence of Bulgaria as an independent, sovereign nation. Who can assess the effect on Arab nationalism of the existence of the American University of Beirut? Aligarh is no exception to this rule. But we may claim with pride that Aligarh was the product of our own efforts and of no outside benevolence, and surely it may also be claimed that the independent sovereign nation of Pakistan was born in the Muslim University of Aligarh".[1] Pakistan owes as much to Aligarh, as Aligarh owes to Sir Syed Ahmed Khan for its conception, establishment and development. In other words, Sir Syed Ahmed's contribution in the cause of the Pakistan Movement has been a spectacular one and deserves honourable mention in the annals of our freedom movement.

In the second half of the seventeenth century, during the days of Aurangzeb, a Persian family migrated from Iran and, taking the overland route, entered India, where they came to be permanently settled. About a hundred years later, one of the descendants of this family, Sayed Hadi, came to be appointed as a high-ranking officer in the Court of Alamgir II. Mir Muttaqui, the son of Sayed Hadi, had no heart in court life and, therefore, he sought no opportunities to become attached as an officer of the Royal Court. Although he was often invited to the private sittings of the Emperor, he continued to pass most of his time perfecting himself in swimming and in archery. His fame spread far and wide as an expert in these two sports, and many princes eagerly enrolled themselves as

1. The Memoirs of Aga Khan, 1954, pp. 35-36.

his pupils to learn swimming and archery under him. Mir Muttaqui was also a man of strong religious inclinations, and spent much of his time by himself as a religious recluse, which won him the esteem of those that came to know him. Leading a life of non-attachment to worldly gains, when, on the death of his father, Sayed Hadi, he was offered the office that his father had held at the Royal Court, he politely declined it. Eager to imbibe more and more religious experience and knowledge, he fell under the influence of Shah Ghulam Ali, a saint of the order of Mujadid Alpha-Thani, who was held in great reverence by his following. Shah Ghulam Ali became very fond of his pupil, Mir Muttaqui and, having no children of his own, he looked upon Mir Muttaqui's children as his own.

Mir Muttaqui came to be married to Azizun-Nisa, daughter of Khwaja Fariduddin, for some time Prime Minister of the Moghul Emperor, and in the year 1817 a son was born in the family. The father took the son to his spiritual mentor, Shah Ghulam Ali, who gave his blessings to the baby boy and named him Ahmed. As the child grew up, he was frequently taken to the saint, who became particularly fond of him, and when Syed Ahmed was of school-going age, Shah Ghulam Ali took him under his care to teach him the Holy Quran. His attachment to the saint in his young and impressionable age left an imperishable mark on the boy's mind, and he grew up to be a devout Muslim.

Syed Ahmed's maternal grandfather, Khwaja Fariduddin, was noted for his scholarship, being a renowned mathematician, and at the same time wise in running the affairs of state. He had a brilliant academic career and had held many important public offices. He was particularly fond of his grandson, Syed Ahmed, who spent many days in the house of his grandfather. This contact created in him a desire to pursue Western education, which was then looked upon with general disfavour by the Muslims. The profound influence that Khawaja Fariduddin exercised over him is evident from a biography that Syed Ahmed wrote of his grandfather. His mother was a very sagacious lady, and from his early childhood she put Syed Ahmed in competent hands in the old-style *maktabs* to learn the Holy Quran, supplemented by tuition

that he received at home by a learned lady, whom the solicitous mother had engaged for the purpose. Maulvi Hamiduddin was one of his earliest teachers, from whom he learnt Persian and Arabic, which were considered necessary languages for boys and girls of good Muslim families. Among the subjects that interested him most as a student were mathematics and medicine, but the gathering dark clouds of financial difficulties over the fortunes of his family compelled him to leave his studies incomplete and to go out into the world in search of work. Out of *maktabs*, but never out of touch with books, he continued to educate himself, an end towards the achievement of which he bent his energies with full force. Delhi was at this time famous for its literary sittings and poetry evenings. and Syed Ahmed was a frequent visitor to these gatherings, where he met outstanding Urdu poets and writers, the most notable of whom were Ghalib and Maulvi Imambux Shahbai. The latter was a famous poet and scholar of the time, and was for some time Professor of Persian in the Delhi College. During the rebellion of 1857, he died the death of a martyr, having been shot by British soldiers for his revolutionary activities.

At the age of twenty-one, Syed Ahmed lost his father, and through the good offices of his uncle, Maulvi Khaliullah, he succeeded in securing a minor post in the employment of the East India Company. He made a mark for himself very early in his career as an employee of the Company, and he was given a higher post and transferred to Agra. After having passed the examination of *Munsif*, he was appointed as Munsif at Manipuri three years later. In 1842 he was transferred to Fathepur Sikri, and in 1846 he was re-posted to Delhi. He remained in Delhi for nine years, during which time he took seriously to writing books and pamphlets, which established his reputation as a writer and thinker. In 1855 he was given a higher promotion, and was appointed *Sadr Amin* of Bijnor town.

When the first rebellion for India's independence broke out in 1857, Syed Ahmed Khan was in Bijnor, where lived about twenty Europeans, all employed in the service of the Company. The fury of the citizens had been roused against the foreigners, and the Englishmen at Bijnor, finding their lives in grave danger, fled for protection to the home of

Shakespeare, the Collector of the District. But even here, their lives were not safe, and Syed Ahmed, at the risk of losing his own life, guarded the house of the Collector. The forces of revolution soon surrounded the house of the Collector, and it was only a matter of hours for each one of them to be killed. Syed Ahmed faced the situation with courage and acted as a peace-maker between the besieged Europeans and his own people. Ultimately he succeeded in bringing about a settlement between the two, and the Europeans were allowed to leave Bijnor without being molested.

He had saved the Europeans, but when rebellion is once let loose on the streets, without a central hand to keep it under proper control and direction, chaotic conditions inevitably follow. Syed Ahmed found Bijnor and the country around aflame with hatred and thirsty for vengeance He left Bijnor for Moradabad, but the highways being infested with robbers, he met with disastrous adventures, until he reached Meerut, a very sick and tired man, worn out by travelling and worried by the ominous shadow of a threatening calamity, which he felt would soon envelop India.

When he returned to his home in Delhi in September 1857, he found his house almost destroyed, and his uncle and cousin murdered by the Sikhs, who had sided with the English in the rebellion. As a consequence of this, his whole family had left their home and fled for safety to one of the suburbs of Delhi. Fortunately for him, he found his mother and one of his aunts in hiding in the stables, where they had spent days of terrible suffering, not having had a morsel to eat for the last few days. He brought the two ladies to Meerut, after facing the hazards of a difficult journey. But the shock of the brutalities that she had witnessed at Delhi had so deeply hurt her feelings, that they made her thoroughly sick. She had hardly been in Meerut for a short time, when her health completely broke down, and she soon breathed her last.

Syed Ahmed Khan's next posting was at Moradabad as *Sadr-us-Sadr*. The consequences that followed in the wake of the rebellion fell heavily on the Muslims of India, and it is only through literature contemporaneous with that period that we are able to form some idea of the severe disabilities that

were inflicted on the Muslims, as if to satisfy a devilish will for vengeance. The Hindus were being given all key positions in Government service to the complete exclusion of the Muslims. "The truth is that when the country passed under our rule, the Muslamans were the superior race, and superior not only in stoutness of heart and strength of arm, but in power of political organisation and the science of political Government..... Before the country passed to us, they were not only the political, but the intellectual power in India..... Some years ago, out of three hundred boys in the English College (Calcutta), not one per cent were Muslims".[1] As a matter of fact, instances were not wanting when even minor posts were snatched from Muslims and given to Hindus; even official Gazettes, advertising vacancies to be filled, notified that Muslims would not be eligible for the posts advertised. "Not only were the Muslims economically crushed, educationally and socially also their position was deliberately depressed by the Government"[2].

While working as *Sadr-us-Sadr* at Moradabad, Sir Syed Ahmed Khan had ample opportunities to reflect upon the fallen condition of his coreligionists, to analyse the causes that had brought about that sad state of affairs, and to think out remedial measures that would meet the situation and enable them to once again stand on their legs, as a self-respecting nation, living in human dignity. He seemed to live from now on for one cause only—to work tirelessly, with utter dedication, for the social and educational advancement of the Muslims of India. He continued to write pamphlets and books, and delivered an important public speech for the first time on 28th July, 1859. Dwelling upon the sufferings of the Muslims, he ended his speech by prayers for the progress and prosperity of the Muslims. The most significant of his literary works of this period were his pamphlets *Loyal* Mohammadans of *India* and *The Causes of Indian Revolt.*

The latter book is evidence of his fearlessness in the face of heavy odds, as it was written during the martial law regime in the wake of the first rebellion, and it was a bold criticism of the policies followed by the Government. He deplored

1. The Indian Musalmans: W. W. Hunter.
2. The Communal Triangle in India: Asoka Mehta and Achyut Patwardhan, p. 86.

the fact that Indians were not represented in the councils of Government machinery that initiated policies at all levels. "Most men agree......that it is highly conducive to the welfare and prosperity of Government—indeed, it is essential to its stability—that the people should have a voice in its councils...... Government would never know (in the pre-mutiny period) the inadvisability of the laws and regulations which it passed. It would never hear, as it ought to have heard, the voice of the people on such a subject".[1] Condemning the English for their aloofness, he wrote, "There was no real communication between the Governors and the governed, no living together or near one another as has always been the custom of the Mohammadans, in countries, which they subjected to their rule".[2] There was an uproar from the English in protest against the book. "It is a highly seditious book .....The author should be duly punished".[3]

When famine broke out in 1860, Sir Syed was entrusted with the task of distributing food to the famine-stricken people. He worked round the clock and won the admiration of the people of Moradabad for the devoted manner in which he discharged this responsibility. Under his advice, John Strachey, the Collector of Moradabad, agreed that the children orphaned by the famine be given to such Hindu and Muslim families as would care to take them under their protection, so that they may not be sent to Christian mission homes, where they were sure to be converted to Christianity. Sir Syed himself took five such orphans under his roof. But when Strachey was transferred, and another Englishman took over as Collector, he reversed Strachey's orders, and all such orphans were ordered to be handed over to Christian missionaries, including the orphans that had found shelter in Sir Syed's home. The voice of the Christian missionaries at this period of our history was very powerful with our English rulers, and they dared not refuse what the Church dictated. This is evident from a speech made in 1857 in Parliament by Mangles, the Chairman of the Board of Directors of the East India Company. "Providence has entrusted the extensive

1. Life of Syed Ahmed Khan: Graham, pp. 26-27.
2. Ibid. p. 33.
3. Sir Cecil Beadon: Speech in the Viceroy's Council.

empire of Hindustan to England that the banner of Christ should fly triumphant from one end of India to the other. Everyone must exert all his strength that there may be no dilatoriness on any account in continuing in the country of the work of making all India Christian".[1]

He was still posted at Moradabad when his wife died in 1859. He was a devoted husband, and many years of life spent together as husband and wife had forged bonds of deep attachment between the two. At the time of the death of his wife, they had two sons, Hamid and Mahmud, and one daughter. A little over forty, Sir Syed was old beyond his years. He was drooping under the burden of the plight of the Muslims, which was weighing heavily on his mind. He had long ago come to the conclusion that the Muslims must change their outlook, be in keeping with the changed times, and, above everything else, they must give up their negative attitude, and take assiduously to the pursuit of modern education. He saw clearly that so long as they did not do this, they would be left behind in the race for material prosperity by the Hindus. From Moradabad he was transferred to Ghazipur, and in 1864 he was transferred to Aligarh, which proved to be the centre from where he spread his message to the Muslims of India to take to modern education. "Syed Ahmed's motto was, Educate, Educate, Educate. All the socio-political ills of India, he once said to me, may be cured by this treatment. Cure the root, the tree will flourish".[2] In his public speeches, he sounded eloquently the note that Muslims must take more and more to modern education. In a public speech, he said, "The reason, gentlemen, why we are all so backward now-a-days is that whilst we are learned in and have benefited by the philosophy, sciences and arts of antiquity, we are almost entirely ignorant of those of modern times".

In 1867, prominent Hindus publicly resolved that Urdu should no longer be written in the Persian script and that it must be replaced by Hindi, written in the Devnagiri script. The seeds of what later developed into a bitter controversy of Urdu versus Hindi were laid, and Sir Syed became the champion and the leading advocate of Urdu. It was at about this

1. The Indian War of Independence: V. D. Savarkar, London, 1909, pp. 51-52.
2. Life of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan: F. G. I. Graham.

time that he is said to have told his friend, Mr. Shakespeare, "Now I am convinced that these two nations will not work unitedly in any cause. At present, there is no open hostility between them. But, on account of the so-called educated people, it will increase a hundredfold in the future. He, who is alive at that time, will see it come to pass".[1] Commenting on the same attitude of the Hindus in a letter dated April 29th, 1870, he wrote to Nawab Mohsinul-Mulk, "This is a proposal which will make Hindu-Muslim unity impossible to achieve. Muslims will never agree to Hindi and if the Hindus, in accordance with their latest attitude, insist on Hindi, they will reject Urdu. The inevitable consequence of such a move will be that the two will be completely and permanently separated".

Mahmud, his son, was granted a Government scholarship for higher studies in England. Syed Ahmed decided to go with him, accompanied by his other son, Hamid, and so in the middle of 1869 they reached England. His stay in that country was rewarding and fruitful. He met Thomas Carlyle, whose book, *Heroes and Hero-Worship*, contained a chapter on the life of the Holy Prophet of Islam, which was in refreshing contrast to the usual type of literature on Islam written by Western writers. Syed Ahmed visited the British Museum frequently, collecting material for his own writing of a short biography of the Holy Prophet. He was able to complete it, while still in England, and it was published under the title of *Essays on the Life of Mohammad*. Through personal contact and through his speeches, he tried to remove the misconceptions that had crept into their thinking about Islam and its founder.

Sir Syed returned to India towards the end of 1870, and plunged himself tirelessly into his work to rejuvenate the contemporary Muslims of India. With this end in view, he started a social magazine, called *Tahzib-ul-Akhlaq*, in which he held up to ridicule and condemnation those social evils, which were retarding the development of Muslims into a powerful nation. His articles in this magazine, however well meaning, were distorted by his adversaries, who were bigoted in their attitude. A relentless war was let loose, condemning Syed Ahmed as a stooge of the West, as a *Kafir*, as a Muslim, who

1. Quoted in Hali's Biography of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan.

was preaching unorthodox views to the Muslims. A number of magazines came into being, as if conjured up like rabbits from the hat of a magician, and they began to fiercely attack the person and views and beliefs of Syed Ahmed.

Yet another constructive work in the field of their moral regeneration was that Syed Ahmed started at Benares on 26th December, 1870, a Society for the Educational Progress of Indian Muslims. It was this Society which later on became the founder of the Mohammadan Anglo-Oriental College at Aligarh. This proposal came in for severe criticism, and the officers of Government administrative machinery put many obstacles in its way. But Sir John Strachey, who was then the Governor of the Province, and sympathetic to the Muslim cause, granted an extensive piece of land to the College Foundation Committee. The College began its work in June 1875. A year later, Syed Ahmed retired from Government service and settled down permanently at Aligarh, in order to give all his time and energy to the work of the College. On 8th January, 1877, Lord Lytton, the Viceroy of India, laid the foundation stone of the new building of the College. It was fortunate that Syed Ahmed was able to enlist some eminent professors to teach at the College, and this, in addition to the fact that it was the only Muslim College in the entire subcontinent, brought to its classes students from all parts of India. The founder could heave a sigh of relief and satisfaction, for his life's work was beginning to bear fruit. The Muslims were beginning to take more and more to modern education, and in order to spread the message of Aligarh to the remotest parts, he founded, in 1886, the Mohammadan Educational Conference, which held its sittings in different cities to enable the voice of Aligarh to be heard all over the subcontinent.

Being an outstanding Muslim leader, he was nominated in 1878 as a member of the Imperial Legislative Council, and this was followed by his being nominated to the Education Commission appointed by the Government of India. He introduced two Bills and succeeded in having them adopted—the Kazis Act and the Act conferring powers for compulsory vaccination against small-pox. In 1882, addressing a gathering of students at Ludhiana, he said, "Remember, a nation is nothing unless it is a nation in the real sense. All individuals, joining

the fold of Islam, together constitute a nation of the Muslims. As long as they follow and practise their beloved religion they are a nation. Remember, you have to live and die by Islam and it is by keeping up Islam that our nation is a nation. Dear children, if someone becomes a star of the heaven but ceases to be a Muslim, what is he to us? He is no longer a member of our nation. Thus, achieving progress by keeping up Islam, means national well-being".[1]

In a forceful speech in the Imperial Legislative Council in 1883, Sir Syed Ahmed said that in a country where there is only one race and one creed, it is possible to have elections on the basis of majority and minority. "But my Lord, in a country like India, where caste distinctions still flourish, where there is no fusion of the various races, where religious distinctions are still violent, where education in its modern sense has not made an equal or proportionate progress among all sections of the population, I am convinced that the introduction of the principle of election, pure and simple for representation of various interests in the Local Boards and District Boards and District Councils, would be attended with evils of greater significance than purely economic considerations. So long as differences of race and creed and the distinctions of caste form an important element in the socio-political life of India and influence her inhabitants in matters connected with administration and the welfare of the country at large, that system of election, pure and simple, cannot be safely adopted".

Syed Ahmed had been the friend, philosopher and guide of the Muslims of India in the field of education, he was now also advising them how to organise themselves politically. When the Indian National Congress was formed in 1885, it being the only political party of its kind, some Muslims had become its members. Sir Syed thought this was a mistake, and, therefore, in 1887, in a forceful speech he warned the Muslims to keep away from the Congress. "When our Hindu brethren or Bengali friends wish to make a move which involves a loss to us and humiliation to our nation we cannot remain friendly, and undoubtedly it is our duty to protect our nation from those attacks of the Hindus and Bengalis, which, we are sure,

1. Quoted in Pakistan Movement: Historic Documents, Compiled and edited by G. Allana, p. 1.

are going to harm our nation".[1] Repudiating the claim of the Congress that it represented the whole of India, Sir Syed Ahmed said, "The unanimous passing of a resolution in the Congress does not make it a national congress. A congress becomes a national congress, only when all the aims and objects of the nation whom that congress represents are common without exception. My honourable friend admits that some aims and objects of the Muslims and the Hindus are different and contradictory. Should we Muslims found a separate Congress to realise our different aims? Should the two Congresses compete and even fight with each other in view of their conflicting and antagonistic aims? Our friend should himself decide in all fairness whether such nations whose aims and objects are opposed to one another, though some minor points might be common, can form a National Congress. It may be appropriate or not but no Muslim, be he a cobbler or nobleman, would ever agree to the Muslims being relegated to a status where they become slaves of another nation which is their neighbour, even though time has reduced them to a very low position and will reduce them still further".[2]

In the year 1888, the British Government, in appreciation of his services, conferred on him the title of K.C.S.I. This was awarded to him in India at a befitting reception held in his honour by the District authorities.

It is difficult to climb to the mountain-top, where clear political comprehension can be perceived. It stands to the credit of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan that as early as 1893, he clearly foresaw that the political salvation of the Muslims of India could not be worked out under the aegis of the Indian National Congress. He warned the Congress that to look upon Muslims as if they were the same as Sikhs, Madrasis, Mahrattas, Brahmins would be disastrous. He continued, "The Congress thinks that they profess the same religion, that they speak the same language, that their way of life and customs are the same, that their attitude to history is similar and is based upon the same historical traditions". "The proposals of the Congress are exceedingly inexpedient for a country which is inhabited by two different nations. Now suppose that all the

1. Quoted in Pakistan Movement: Historic Documents, compiled by G. Allana, p. 2.
2. Ibid. p. 3.

English were to leave India.... then who would be the rulers of India? Is it possible that under these circumstances two nations—the Mohammedan and the Hindu—could sit on the same throne and remain equal in power? Most certainly not. It is necessary that one of them should conquer the other and thrust it down. To hope that both could remain equal is to desire the impossible and the inconceivable".[1]

In order to defend the political fortune of the Muslims, he helped to bring into being the Mohammadan Defence Association in 1893. Shibli, in one of his articles in 1912, wrote about Syed Ahmed Khan, "That pen, unafraid, undaunted, which could write a book like *The Cause of the Indian Revolt* at a time when the country was groaning under Martial Law. ....That hero, who walked out in protest from the Agra Durbar, because Indians were not given the same treatment in the matter of seating arrangements as the British had been given".[2] Maulana Mohamed Ali in his presidential address at the Indian National Congress said of Sir Syed, "I am constrained to admit that no well-wisher of Mussalmans, nor of India, as a whole, could have followed a very different course in leading the Mussalmans".

He was now nearing eighty, and his personal life had handed him a bitter cup of woe and tragedy, which shattered his physical powers and his built-in defences. He had lived long enough, and all his life had been a crusade in the cause of the Muslims of India. But he was not down-hearted, nor did he feel defeated. He continued to work like a Trojan till the last days of his life. He wanted to spend the last ounce of his energy in the cause that he had championed all his life It was now the beginning of the year 1898, and Sir Syed Ahmed was eighty-one. He had relapsed into an inexplicable silence in these days, his friends could with difficulty draw him into animated conversation. He told his friend, Zainul Abedin Khan, "The time is very near. I have reached a point when eternal silence is not far away". On the 24th of March, 1898, he could not urinate, and no medicines could help him. The next day his condition was critical, and he was struggling for life. On the morning of the 27th, he had a splitting headache, and his

1. Quoted in Pakistan Movement: Historic Documents, Compiled by G. Allana, p. 30.
2. Maqalat-i-Shibli: Shibli Nomani. Vol. VIII, p. 155.

condition went on worsening. The end came at ten in the night, on the same day. A great champion of the Muslim cause had passed away.

NAWAB MOHSIN-UL-MULK

(1837—1907)

There was settled at Etawah for many generations a family of Barah Syeds, whose worldly fortune did not stand high at the beginning of the nineteenth century. Mir Zamin Ali was the head of that family, which could not boast of having produced any outstanding scholar or leader of men. Mir Zamin Ali, not a literate person himself, however, was married to the daughter of Maulvi Mahmood Ali, an eminent *alim*, who had risen to be a minister at the court of the Principality of Tonk. Mir Zamin Ali continued to live a modest life after marriage, and in this family was born a son on 9th December, 1837, at Etawah, whom they fondly named Sayed Mehdi Ali. Maulvi Mahmood Ali was very fond of his young grandson, and he saw to it that from an early age Sayed Mehdi Ali received the best of education from the best of teachers that were available in and around Etawah at that time. According to the best traditions of education in those days, Sayed Mehdi Ali was given a thorough grounding from a very early age both in Persian and Arabic, and at the same time a *maulvi* taught him to read the Quran. Within a few years after he started taking his first lessons, his progress in Persian and Arabic had been so rapid that he was put under the personal charge of the most famous scholar of the time in that district, namely, Maulvi Inayat Husain, and later on under Maulvi Salamatullah Cawnpori. The young boy showed brilliance out of the ordinary and proved to be wise beyond his years. On the one hand there was a pull on his conscience to pursue his studies further, and on the other, the strained circumstances of the family were forcibly compelling him to give up his life in an atmosphere of secluded academic pursuits and to seek employment in the matter-of-fact world around him.

At first he could find only employment that carried with it

little work of originality and a small salary. But he had supreme confidence in himself, and he worked at this humble Government post with devotion and diligence. It was not long before he was able to catch the eye of his superiors, who found in him a willing worker, an intelligent and honest young man, well mannered, and ready to accept all that went under the general term of 'discipline'. It was customary in those days to start Government service on Rs. 5 per month, and after proving one's worth and merit, one could after some years be entitled to a job carrying a salary of Rs. 10 per mensem. Studious by nature, he would sit in the office after closing time, and would be busy learning the rules and regulations governing the work of the *Kutchery* of the Collector. One night, as the Collector was on his rounds of the city, he saw lights in one of the rooms of his office. Prompted by curiosity, the Collector went inside, only to find the young Sayed Mehdi Ali busy learning the code of business. The Collector was very pleased and raised him to a job carrying a higher salary per month. Recalling his early days in service, Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk told Khan Bahadur Maulvi Bashiruddin in later life, "The real pleasure that I got out of a life on Rs. 10 a month, I have never experienced again in other posts that I have subsequently held with much higher salaries".[1] This admission in itself is an indication of his humble nature, a life dedicated to hard work, and entirely devoid of ostentatiousness—a life of simple living and high thinking.

An Englishman, Allen Hume, who was Collector of the district, took personal interest in the young, intelligent and industrious Mehdi Ali, and soon raised him to the post of *Serishtedar*. Hume found that his trust and confidence in young Mehdi Ali were quite justified, and he spoke of him very highly to other English officers. At the age of twentyfour, Mehdi Ali got yet a higher promotion, being appointed a Tehsildar, a post considered to be very high for an Indian Government servant of such young age. Once again, Mehdi Ali proved equal to the task that was entrusted to him, and won the admiration and respect of all his superiors. He had an ambition to rise

1. Quoted in *Hayate Mohsin*: Maulvi Mahomed Amin Zuberi, Muslim University Press, Aligarh, p. 4.

to the highest post within the reach of an Indian, and with that end in view he devoted all his spare time to preparing himself for the Provincial Civil Service examination. When he sat at this competitive examination in 1867, he easily topped the list of successful candidates, and was soon thereafter appointed a Deputy Collector in Mirzapur in what was at one time the United Provinces, on a monthly salary of Rs. 340. In this last appointment, he proved a great success, and the Collector of Mirzapur wrote in his confidential service book at the end of the year, "I am in a position to say with confidence that there is no other Government servant as intelligent, as honest as Mehdi Ali".[1] Two years later there was famine, and Mehdi Ali rose equal to the occasion, working tirelessly to render relief to the stricken people of his district. On this Allen Hume wrote in a confidential note in his service book, "As I am acquainted with the work and character of Maulvi Mehdi Ali, I have no hesitation in praising him..... Wisdom, tolerance, tact, intelligence, these are some of his admirable qualities..... He has successfully accomplished the most difficult task entrusted to him".[2]

As a Muslim, holding a very high Government post, and as a man, who had done so much good work for his district, Sayed Mehdi came to be personally known to Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, and this was to prove to be an important milestone in his life. Sir Syed developed a keen appreciation for young Mehdi Ali's talents and accomplishments, and recommended his name for appointment to a high Government post to Nawab Salar Jang of Hyderabad, Deccan. When the offer for a tempting appointment reached Maulvi Mehdi Ali, his first reaction was that the Government of Hyderabad should take on loan his services from the Government of India and that he should hold a lien over his substantive appointment On this, Nawab Salar Jang wrote to Sir Syed Ahmed, "No one can serve two masters at the same time. If Maulvi Mehdi Ali has confidence in our Government, he should resign and join our service". It is not recorded how far Sir Syed Ahmed was instrumental in influencing his decision, but the fact is on record that Maulvi Mehdi Ali resigned from his post as Deputy

1. Quoted in *Hayate Mohsin* Maulvi Mahomed Amin Zuberi, p. 4.
2. Ibid. p. 6.

Collector in 1874, and proceeded to take up his new assignment in a specially created post as an officer of the Government of the Nizam.

Mehdi Ali served in Hyderabad State for twentytwo years, where he earned the general admiration for his work devotedly carried out in the interests of the State itself. He held many important positions during these two decades, and he was the recipient of many honours. The Nizam conferred on him the titles of Munir Nawaz Jang and Nawab Mohsin-ud-Daula Mohsin-ul-Mulk in recognition of his long and meritorious services. It was because of this that he is commonly known as Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, and it is by this name that he is linked with Aligarh and the Aligarh movement, as the successor of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. He succeeded in giving a new orientation to the administrative machinery of Hyderabad State, and he began to take a growing interest in the educational progress of the Muslims of India. In 1888, he visited England on State business, and utilised this opportunity in studying the impact of modern education on the progress of the West, realising that if Indian Muslims were determined to find an honourable place in the national life of India, they must take to modern education. In 1893 he retired from Hyderabad State service on a life pension, and decided to settle permanently at Aligarh. In order to be of assistance to Sir Syed Ahmed in spreading the message of Aligarh.

Five years later, Sir Syed Ahmed died, and his talented and brilliant son, Syed Mahmud, succeeded his father as Secretary of the Mahommadan Anglo-Oriental College. Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk gave him his willing cooperation, as the cause of Aligarh was very dear to him. During the lifetime of Sir Syed there were many attacks on him in the press and on modern education that was being imparted at Aligarh. Mohsin-ul-Mulk often strongly defended Sir Syed and refuted all insinuations against him through his writings in *Tahzib-ul-Akhlaq*. His writings played an important role in popularising the ideals for which Aligarh stood. "He often replied to the criticisms against Sir Syed Ahmed in such an appealing and humorous style and with such brilliance and eloquence that his critics were rendered completely silent".[1] During the

1. *Khutbat-i-Aliya*: Maulana Zakaullah.

last few years the Muslim Educational Conference had been doing splendid work in the cause of Muslim education but its guiding force, Sir Syed Ahmed, was dead and it was difficult to find a suitable successor. Mohsin-ul-Mulk had been associated with the work of the Conference, and on him fell the choice of Secretaryship of the Conference on the death of Sir Syed. He had already presided over the annual sessions of the Conference in 1893 and 1896, so Mohsin-ul-Mulk assumed the reins of office with confidence and courage. He undertook long tours popularising the work and the ideals of the Conference through the spoken and the written word, and it was his untiring efforts that soon raised the Conference to be the real mouthpiece of the Muslims of India in their demands in the field of education. Its annual sessions now began to be held outside the United Provinces, thus helping to spread its popularity throughout India. Meeting in Calcutta in 1899, the Conference called upon the Muslims to set up Muslim schools in each big city and district, as a result of which a number of them soon came to be established.

Towards the beginning of the twentieth century, there raged a bitter controversy in the United Provinces over Urdu versus Hindi, in which some top Englishmen, particularly MacDonald, gave their support to Hindi as against Urdu. Mohsin-ul-Mulk took up the pen in defence of Urdu, and wielded it vigorously and fearlessly. He seemed to take up this task, where Sir Syed had left it, and he was not going to rest until the importance of Urdu was universally recognised. On 18th August 1900 was held at Lucknow a conference under the auspices of the Urdu Defence Association. While addressing this conference, Mohsin-ul-Mulk said, "Though we do not wield the pen and our pen is not powerful which is why we are seldom seen in offices, yet we have the strength to wield the sword, and our hearts are full of love for the Queen..... We cannot for a moment imagine that the Government will forsake and ignore us or allow those things on which our life depends to come to grief. I do not believe that Government will allow our language to die; it will keep it alive. It will never die. But there is no doubt that if the efforts being made by the other side to kill our language continue it may suffer a setback at any time in future. These fears have led

us to take these efforts to keep alive our language and, even if we cannot, to take out its funeral bier with great eclat. When an entire nation is aggrieved by some problem there is no need to work up an agitation or to arouse the people. At such a time our duty is to bring public opinion to a moderate level and remove false conceptions about Government's intentions and aims from the hearts of the people".[1] Mohsin-ul-Mulk continued to give all his support to the Urdu Defence Conference, as one more cause that was in the best interests of the Muslims of India.

Ever since the death of Sir Syed Ahmed, the affairs of the Aligarh College were in a deplorable condition, particularly its finances. With income not enough to meet the running expenses of the College, and with debts mounting every year, the office of the Secretary was daily besieged by countless creditors, whose dues had not been paid for a long time. Fraud committed by a Hindu accountant on the Collegel staff had shaken the confidence of the people and they were reluctant to donate to the College funds. The influx of new students began to stagnate and then to decline, and between 1895and 1898 the strength of the College students had declined from 595 to 343. While Sir Syed lived, he could cope with these difficulties, but being succeeded by his son, Syed Mahmud, who was in a poor state of health, both physically and mentally, the College seemed to be heading for the rocks. Syed Mahmud's physical and mental ailments had made him extremely irritable, and he was quarrelling with every one around him, to the detriment of the interests of the College. The relationship between the Principal and some tutors was most unhappy, and this added to the problems arising out of an already complicated situation. After a period of anxiety and uncertainty, the trustees decided to request Mohsin-ul-Mulk to become the Secretary of the College, a responsibility that he accepted even though he realised it was so difficult that it would give him many sleepless nights.

Mohsin-ul-Mulk could not have taken over the reins of office of the College at a more difficult period of its history, and to add to his difficulties he was past the prime of life, being over sixty at the time. But he put his shoulder to the wheel and

1. Quoted in Pakistan Movement: Historic Documents. G. Allana, p. 4.

worked like a Trojan, not sparing himself in his task. A colossal task faced him, but its enormity did not dishearten him. It was a challenge, and he accepted it with the enthusiasm of a youthful missionary. He undertook long and extensive tours all over India, carrying the message of Aligarh with him, and collecting money for its badly depleted funds. Before one can contribute to a cause, there must be goodwill in one's heart towards that institute. Inadvertantly, Sir Syed Ahmed's writings and speeches had given rise to a bitter antagonism between the religious *ulema* and what Aligarh stood for, and the task fell to Mohsin-ul-Mulk to win over this most potent and vocal sector of Muslim society in favour of Aligarh. He worked away tactfully and tirelessly at it, and it brought results. The bitterness that had existed gave way to understanding, and understanding to appreciation. Some leading *ulema* were invited to visit Aligarh, and they were able to see for themselves the good work that the College was doing among the young Muslims, and from that time onwards the *ulema* also began to lend their support to the Mohamadan Educational Conference by attending its annual sessions in appreciable numbers. Orthodoxy had been converted as the supporter of Aligarh, and this considerably helped the cause of the Aligarh movement. Mohsin-ul-Mulk believed in publicising the activities of Aligarh College by inviting leading foreign dignitaries for a visit. In this connection, when the Prince of Wales, later His Majesty King George V, visited India in 1906, Mohsin-ul-Mulk invited him to visit Aligarh. His Highness the Aga Khan reached Aligarh three days before the Prince of Wales and was busy, along with Mohsin-ul-Mulk, to make the visit a memorable success. The trustees were introduced to the royal visitor, and thereafter he inspected the classes being conducted in the College, the mosque and some rooms of the College hostel. A formal lunch in honour of the Prince of Wales was held in the Lytton Library, where Mohsin-ul-Mulk and the Aga Khan made speeches, explaining what Aligarh stood for. To commemorate this occasion, with his consent, a science school was founded, which was to be named after the Prince of Wales, for the building of which Sir Adamji Pirbhoy of Bombay donated Rs. 100,000 and His Highness the Aga Khan and the Rajah of Mahmoodabad Rs. 35,000 each. The Muslims

all over India were now becoming more and more aware of the educational needs of their community and they began to contribute more generously to the funds of Aligarh College. As more and more buildings went up, more and more financial help kept pouring in, and more and more students came flocking to Aligarh, and it began to develop into a truly national institution of the Muslims of India.

On 16th January, 1907, His Majesty Amir Habibullah Khan, the King of Afghanistan, visited the College. The city and the College wore a gala appearance, and on the occasion among the trustees to receive the King were Hakim Ajmal Khan and Maulana Hali. During the course of his private conversations with Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, the King told him, "I have heard a lot of things about the College. Some of them are good, but most of them are damaging to the College. But Hazrat Ali has said that the distance between truth and lies is only four fingers, that is, the distance between the ears and the eyes. My ears have heard. Now my eyes will see." He visited the premises of the College, the Library, the hostel, and said his prayers in the College mosque. Thereafter he put difficult questions to students on Islamic theology, and was surprised at the high level of learning of the boys in Islamic studies. At the end of his visit, he was so satisfied that he repeatedly, and within hearing of others, told Nawab Moshin-ul-Mulk, sometimes in Persian and sometimes in English, "What I have seen is so different from what I had heard. What they said against Aligarh was all lies, all lies."[1]

In his drive for collecting funds for the College buildings, Mohsin-ul-Mulk went even to Rangoon, where lived so many rich and generous Muslims of Indian origin. He spent over a month there and was able to collect substantial amounts from the merchant princes of that city.

Temperamentally, Mohsin-ul-Mulk was so different from Sir Syed Ahmed. In his writings and in his speeches, he was more considerate towards his opponents than the latter was. He was a patient listener, and he disarmed opposition by his tact and his charming manners. If any person approached him for a letter of recommendation, he hardly ever refused, which was quite contrary to the established practice of Sir

1. Hayat-i-Mohsin: Maulvi Md. Amin Zuberi, pp. 116-125.

Syed Ahmed. "We neither actively opposed nor supported Sir Syed. Our elders could not reconcile themselves with his politics, much less with his religious views. Due to his obstinate nature, he would tenaciously hold on to his personal views, and differences followed. To make up for all this, a man open to compromise and high sensitivity was needed. Thank God that Mohsin-ul-Mulk succeeded Sir Syed Ahmed."[1]

Mohsin-ul-Mulk believed that if Aligarh was to progress and develop into a central University of the Muslims of India, it should enjoy the goodwill of all Muslims, at least no one should be hostile towards it. After the death of Sir Syed he found some leading political leaders opposed to Aligarh and he undertook to win them over to the cause of Aligarh. Sir Syed Ahmed had, in a speech delivered at the annual session of the Mohammadan Educational Conference, warned the Muslims not to join the Indian National Congress, which he said was not a friend of the Muslims. The annual session of the Congress that year was presided over by Justice Badruddin Tyabji of Bombay. He interpreted Sir Syed's remarks as being not only hostile to Congress Muslims, but to himself in particular. From that day onwards, Justice Tyabji became a bitter critic of all that Aligarh stood for, and an acrimonious public controversy ensued between Sir Syed and Tyabji. Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk realised that it was good to have such powerful Muslims as the friends and supporters of Aligarh. With this end in view, he proceeded to Bombay, and in his usual disarming and tactful manner he had long meetings with Justice Tyabji. His diplomatic mission succeeded, and Justice Tyabji stood converted. As a result of this, he agreed and presided over the annual session of the Mohammadan Educational Conference in 1903. "There is not a Musalman in India, certainly not in Bombay, who does not wish all prosperity and success to Aligarh."[2]

Sir Anthony MacDonell, who was notorious for his anti-Urdu leanings, had become the Governor of the United Provinces, and the supporters of Hindi expected that under his regime the drive against Urdu would be intensified. True to his noted antipathy for Urdu, his Government issued orders

1. Tazkirah-i-Mohsin: Maulana Abdul Bari.
2. Eminent Musalmans: Justice Tyabji, Natesan, Madras, p. 110.

on 18th April, 1900, which sought to put an end to the position that Urdu had hitherto enjoyed in the province. While Hindus were elated at the news, it shook the confidence of the Muslims. Mohsin-ul-Mulk felt called upon to take up the cudgels in defence of Urdu, and to this end he set up the Urdu Defence Association, in order to protect the legitimate claims of Urdu. A series of protest meetings were held under the auspices of the Association, the first of which was held at Aligarh on 13th May, 1900, over which the Nawab of Chattari presided. The Governor took this as a personal affront, and he threw his weight about with Muslim leaders to resign from the Association. While some fell under the pressure of the Governor, Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk held his ground firmly, and went on holding one protest meeting after another, recording the protest of the Muslims against the infamous Government orders. The Governor was not prepared to take defeat lying down, and he called a meeting of the Trustees of the College at Aligarh, addressed the meeting himself, and threatened them with dire consequences, including complete stoppage of all Government financial assistance, if this agitation was not called off. The Governor had obviously stooped to adopting unfair and mean tactics. He refused to grant an interview to Mohsin-ul-Mulk, and said that he could communicate by a letter whatever he wanted to say. In the correspondence that followed, the Governor refused to address him by his recognised title and name, but went on addressing him as Maulvi Mehdi Ali.

His opposition to the Government's orders over Urdu was costing the Aligarh College quite a lot, and Mohsin-ul-Mulk decided, magnanimously, his personal prestige should not stand in the way of the progress and the future of the College. He resigned from the Secretaryship of the College, in order to be free to carry on his campaign in the defence of Urdu. His friends and colleagues realised that if he ceased to be the Secretary of the College at this critical juncture, it may as well be its end. They wrote to him, and sent deputations begging him to withdraw his resignation. In the end they succeeded, and Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk withdrew his resignation. He waited patiently for a time when MacDonnel would no longer be the Governor of the United Provinces. When that time came, he brought into being the Anjuman-i-Taraqui-e-Urdu,

an adjunct of the Mohammadan Educational Conference. In order to protect it from any possible assaults by misguided Englishmen, he was wise enough to appoint Sir Thomas Arnold as the first Chairman of the Anjuman.

It was clear to every politically conscious leader in India in 1906 that representation to the Indian Legislative Councils would be liberalised. Mohsin-ul-Mulk was far-sighted enough to visualise that this was an opportunity which the Muslims should not miss, that they should press their point of view on the Viceroy for separate representation to the Muslims in all the Legislatures, and in local bodies. Hithertofore, there were no seats reserved for the Muslims, and Muslim representatives had to contest in general constituencies, where Hindu voters preponderated. The result was that neither did the Muslims get representation commensurate with their numbers in each province and in India as a whole, nor were most of them independent of Hindu pulls and pressures. With this end in view, Mohsin-ul-Mulk carried on correspondence with the Private Secretary of the Viceroy through Archibold, the Principal of Aligarh College. The Viceroy ultimately agreed to meet the deputation in Simla. A memorandum was drawn up demanding separate electorates for Muslims, and it was adopted in a meeting of Muslim leaders held at Lucknow on 16th September, 1906, under the chairmanship of Sir Abdur Rahim. Thirty-six leading Muslims were selected to form the deputation, and His Highness the Aga Khan was selected to lead the deputation. The Simla Deputation, as it came to be known, was highly successful and in the Morley-Minto Reforms that followed the principle of separate electorates was conceded to the Muslims.

A stage had been reached in the evolution of Muslim politics, when they must have their own separate political organisation. This idea was simultaneously agitating the minds of His Highness the Aga Khan, Mohsin-ul-Mulk and Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk. As a result of long correspondence between them, the outcome was a meeting of Muslim leaders at Dacca on 30th December, 1906, at a time when the Muslim Educational Conference was holding its annual conference in that city. The idea was unanimously approved; Mohsin-ul-Mulk and Viqar-ul-Mulk were asked to draft the constitution of the

new party, and His Highness the Aga Khan was to be its permanent president. This is the origin of the All-India Muslim League, which ultimately won for us our freedom and succeeded in having Pakistan established as the homeland of the Muslims of India.

Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk had been in indifferent health since 1888, when he was working in Hyderabad for the Nizam. At that time, he visited England for a medical check-up and was under treatment there for some time. But, never having a robust constitution, he was of and on having bouts of ill-health. In 1902, he was a victim of chronic diabetes, which had considerably weakened his health. The doctors were constantly advising him to give up his work and to have complete rest in order to give his tired heart a chance to recoup. But he was wedded to his work, and he disdained all advice to give up work. It was 1907, and he was seventy. He told his friend, Maulvi Wahiduddin, "Maulana, on the face of it, I seem to be alright. But it seems as if something that was within me always is now dead. My heart has sunk, and now I don't feel interested in life as before".[1] Towards the end of September of that year, he left for Simla, in order to be near the seat of Government, as far-reaching changes were being discussed in the constitution of India, which would make or mar the future of the Muslims of India. Although the high altitude of Simla was least suited for his poor state of health, he was there to do his little bit for the Muslims. He called on the Viceroy; he discussed the case and the point of view of the Muslims with high Government officers. He was putting too much strain on his already badly strained heart. In the beginning of October, he was in bed, struggling for life. He died on 16th October, 1907, at 6 p.m. He had expressed a desire that he be buried at Etawah in the ancestral burial ground of his family. But a grateful and admiring following that he had left behind thought it more appropriate that he be laid to rest at Aligarh, which stood eternally indebted to him.

Maulana Hali in one of his poems has paid a befitting tribute to Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk :

A friend of Muslims; the people's benefactor.
Freedom's battle he won, and fell a martyr.

1. Quoted in Hayate Mohsin: Maulvi Md. Amin Zuberi, p, 192.

JAMALUDDIN AFGHANI

(1838—1897)

The second half of the Nineteenth Century has been an eventful period in the history of Europe. Napoleonic wars had come and gone, razing to the ground hitherto accepted social values, and enthroning some new ones in their place. A new spirit of enquiry was sweeping all over Europe, and giant strides were being made in the realm of science and technology, that were to later on leave the peoples of other parts of the world gaping with wonder. "So Western civilisation quickened, energized, progressed with giant strides, shook off its medieval fetters, grasped the talisman of science, and strode into the light of modern times".[1] Along with the pursuit of material gain through modern methods and techniques of production, European nations were also every year making the weapons of modern warfare deadlier, which ultimately enabled them to have military superiority over the continents of Asia and Africa and in the countries of Latin America. The flourishing industries of Europe needed raw materials, and Asia and Africa were rich storehouses for agricultural and other raw materials, which could perpetually keep the wheels of European industry moving. Under what came to be known as free market enterprise, the principle on which profit motive worked, business meant to buy cheap and to sell dear. The raw material producing continents of Asia and Africa, under such circumstances, became irresistible temptations in the eyes of Western nations, and an unashamed and tyrannical era of downright exploitation began to darken the two continents with the shadow of oppression. Once happy and prosperous nations lay prostrate under the iron heel of Western imperialism, in the perpetuation of which no deed,

1. The New World of Islam: Lothrop Stoddard, 1922, Chapman and Hall, London, p. 17

however crooked or barbaric, was considered as sufficient justification to prevent the Western powers in their policy of expansionism.

In this pursuit of setting up colonies, secular Europe was readily and strongly backed by the Church and the clergy. Christianity seemed to look upon these new colonies as happy hunting grounds to convert the non-Christians, and there grew up a powerful alliance between Christian Churches and European commerce. This conflict between Europe and the Orient sowed the seeds of racial antagonism, brought into being by the arrogance of the West, which was to later on loom on the world horizon as a major international problem. While the West moved forward as a prospective conquering world force, the countries of the Muslim world continued to remain unmoved, thus falling behind in the struggle for their survival. The Turks, who had hitherto been a dominant power in Europe, alas, began to show signs of lethargy and ceased to cultivate the art of war. The rising tide of Turkish victories in Europe had halted at the gates of Vienna in 1683, and this encouraged the European nations not to fear any more the might of the Ottoman Empire. Thereafter, Turkey began to be plagued with assaults by Western powers, leaving her in a state of near collapse. The Eighteenth Century saw the entire might of the Western world pitched against the slender defences of Muslim countries in Eastern Europe and in the Indies, but the major portion of the world of Islam from Morocco to Central Asia remained unmolested and undisturbed. The picture had undergone a change in the Nineteenth Century, and almost all the Muslim countries came to be harried and harassed by the military proclivities of the West.

With destructive weapons of war undreamt of before this in its hands, and backed by the marvels of the Industrial Revolution, the Western world concentrated its attacks on the Muslim countries, with a view to bring them, one after another, under Western political domination and economic exploitation. These almost defenceless countries fell before the superior might of European nations, and they came to be distributed as spoils of war among the Western powers. England avariciously grabbed India and Egypt, establishing over them a control that satisfied their economic and political

ends. Russian armies were pillaging the cities of Central Asia after having crossed the Caucasus. France unfurled the banner of its imperial designs, conquering parts of North Africa. "Other European nations grasped minor portions of the Muslim heritage.... Plunged in lethargy, contemptuous of the European 'misbelievers', and accepting defeats as the inscrutable will of Allah, Islam continued to live its old life, neither knowing nor caring to know anything about Western ideas or Western progress."[1]

Just at this period of history, when the West stood triumphantly over many Muslim countries, the world of Islam was to show the first signs of a new revivalism. Western arrogance had ignited the flame of consciousness and self-respect in some young revolutionary Muslim minds, and they were soon to set into motion revolutionary ideas that would waken from lethargy Muslims from China to Morocco and from the Congo to Central Asia. The forces let loose by the West also came to the help of the Muslims, for they were now stirred by new ideas and concepts such as nationalism, scientific education, democracy, freedom. The new spirit of revivalism, coupled with the hatred against the West due to her ceaseless pressure, brought about a gradual awakening among Muslims all over the world. The world of Islam had been roused to a new realisation of its strength and importance, and there was to be now no going back to a state of indifference and passivity in the face of aggression from the West. A great revolutionary phase had been reached and revolutionary ideas stirred the minds of Muslims. Among those who were the pioneers in bringing about this awakening, the name of Jamaluddin Afghani stands out very prominently. He was a descendant of Hazrat Imam Husain, and the great and renowned calligraphist, Sayed Ali Tirmizi.[2]

According to Lutfullah Asadabadi, the forefathers of Jamaluddin Afghani were settled in Asadabad, a town some distance from Hamdan in Iran, among whom can be mentioned Shaikh-ul-Islam Jalaludoullah and Qazi Sayed Saleh Ali Sayeed-al-Shaheed, who were well known *ulema* of their time. As a matter of fact, his ancestors were known for their

1. The New World of Islam: Lothrop Stoddard, 1922, Chapman and Hall, London, p. 18.
2. Sayed Jamaluddin Afghani, by Ziauddin Burney: Taalimi Markaz, Karachi, p. 50.

learning and piety. His father, Sayed Safdar, a disciple of the great *darvesh*, Shaikh Murtaza, was an accomplished scholar, who had mastery over a wide range of subjects. A recluse by nature, Sayed Safdar spent most of his time in the privacy of his own small garden attached to his modest house in Asadabad. Sayed Safdar was married to Sikina Begum, a daughter of Mir Sharafuddin al-Husainy al-Qazi. Jamaluddin was born in Asadabad in the month of Shaban in the year 1254 A.H., equivalent to A.D. 1838. [1] He was to be later on known as Sayed Jamaluddin Afghani al-Husainy.

Coming from a family of renowned scholars, Jamaluddin at an early age was put under a rigorous life devoted to religious studies, with the result that he was soon well versed in the Holy Quran, Hadith, Fiqah, philosophy, medicine; astrology was a subject that particularly attracted him. According to some sources, he continued his studies up to the age of 18 in Bukhara, at which age he undertook a visit to Teheran and from there came to visit India. The stars of the British *raj* in India were in their ascendant at that time, and Jamaluddin's young mind came to be profoundly impressed by Western thought and learning, which had obtained a foothold in India. From India he proceeded to the Hejaz to perform Haj, staying in that country for one year. He spent that time in the Hejaz widening the horizons of his learning, studying under competent masters.

After a year's stay in the Hejaz, he returned to Afghanistan, where he accepted employment in the service of Amir Dost Mohamed Khan. On the death of Dost Mohamed Khan, he was succeeded by Amir Sher Ali Khan, who ordered his four sons to be arrested. The imprisoned brothers had sympathisers outside the prison walls, as a result of which three of them were able to escape. While the Amirship of Afghanistan continued to be the prize, and encouraged court intrigue and treachery, Jamaluddin continued to be steadfast in his duties as an employee of the King, and because of this he had succeeded in attracting royal attention. Therefore, when Amir Murad Azam Khan ascended the throne, he appointed Jamaluddin Afghani as his special adviser. The times were turbulent, and princely ambition often found an outlet in

1. Syed Jamaluddin Afghani, by Ziauddin Burney: Taalimi Markaz, Karachi, pp. 52-54.

a bold bid to win the crown, and so Amir Mohamed Azam Khan was defeated by Sher Ali Khan, who was proclaimed King of Afghanistan. Jamaluddin Afghani decided to go to the Hejaz for Haj once again, and to this end he sought the leave of the Amir. The Ambassador of Iran in Kabul had been pleading with the Afghan Government not to allow Jamaluddin Afghani either to visit Iran or to pass through that country. His efforts succeeded and Jamaluddin Afghani was given permission to go to the Hejaz, on condition that he did not pass through or sojourned in Iran.

This condition was accepted, and he left Kabul for the Hejaz *via* India in 1285 A.H. The British ostensibly extended to him special courtesies during his stay in India, but being apprehensive of his revolutionary predilections, they would not allow him to meet Indian Muslims alone, but only under the watchful eyes and alert ears of the Indian police intelligence. At the end of about a month's stay in India, he was offered a passage in a Government ship that was leaving the shores of India for Egypt, which offer he accepted. On his first visit to Cairo, he lost no time in establishing contacts with leading Muslim *ulema* and intellectuals exchanging views with them on the state of affairs prevailing in the Muslim world and how best to bring about its social, economic and political regeneration. During his stay in Cairo, he frequented the University of Al-Azhar, where he discussed various religious problems with the teachers at the University.

From Cairo he came to the Hejaz, where he renewed old acquaintances and friendships and struck some new ones. Those that discussed with him problems of the world of Islam were impressed by his deep-rooted anxiety to give a lead to the Muslims, so that they may become alive to the dangers that were enveloping their national lives under Western imperialism. A restless spirit by nature, and having an irrepressible itch for travelling, he left the Hejaz for Turkey. His reputation as an outstanding Muslim had preceded him, and the Prime Minister of Turkey, Aly Pasha, gave him a welcome in Constantinople, worthy of a prince. Jamaluddin Afghani seemed to have liked the Turks, as he made many friends among the leading political leaders of that country, and his stay came to be prolonged beyond the period he had

contemplated. At the end of a stay of six months, he became a member of "Danish Osmani", a powerful organisation of young Turks. He began to give lectures in Constantinople, which were largely attended by young intellectuals, rousing thereby the jealously of many Turkish *ulema*, who banded themselves into a united front in order to oust him from Turkey. They issued a *fatwa* that Jamaluddin Afghani was unorthodox in his beliefs and was, therefore, a *kafir*. Recalling those days in Turkey, Jamaluddin Afghani in later life told one of his friends that he went to a gathering in Constantinople being addressed by the Shaikh-ul-Islam of Turkey, Hasan Fahemy, and that without any outward signs of humility or formality, he went and sat near the Shaikh, at which the latter was very angry, and he never forgave him this affront. The campaign of vilification by the *ulema* was backed by the press that they controlled and it succeeded ultimately, and a royal order was issued, ordering Jamaluddin Afghani to leave Turkey immediately. The decree was obeyed, and he left Constantinople only to reach Cairo on the day of Nauroz, 21st March, 1871.[1]

A chance meeting between two persons sometimes proves an event of far-reaching consequence, and so it happened when Jamaluddin Afghani met in Cairo a Minister of the Government, namely Riaz Pasha. The Minister obtained Government sanction for a monthly allowance to be given Jamaluddin Afghani, and he was employed on the staff of Al-Azhar University, where many students that came to study fell under his spell and influence. It was mostly the life and work of these young intellectuals that later on proved to be the main cause of Egypt's fight for national liberation. He taught his students how to interpret Islam in terms of the times in which they lived, with special attention being devoted to free Muslim countries from Western domination. This roused the suspicions of the British and the French that Jamaluddin Afghani was sowing revolutionary political ideas in the minds of young Egyptians under the garb of religious education. Under instructions from London, Vivian, the British Consul-General in Cairo, prevailed upon Tawfiq Pasha, the Khedive of Egypt, to force Jamaluddin Afghani to leave Egypt. British

1. Syed Jamaluddin Afghani, by Ziauddin Burney: Taalimi Markaz, Karachi. p. 55.

and French diplomacy succeeded, and Jamaluddin Afghani left Cairo under Government orders. "Djemal-ed-Din was the first Muhammadan who fully grasped the impending peril of Western domination, and he devoted his life to warning the Islamic world of the danger and attempting to elaborate measures of defence. By European colonial authorities he was soon singled out as a dangerous agitator. The English, in particular, feared and persecuted him. Imprisoned for a while in India, he went to Egypt about 1880 and had a hand in the anti-European movement of Arabi Pasha. When the English occupied Egypt in 1882, they promptly expelled Djemal, who continued his wanderings, finally reaching Constantinople".[1]

Jamaluddin Afghani was once again in India, settling down in Hyderabad, Deccan, from where he started publishing a magazine that propagated his anti-Western views on world politics. But at that time there was war between Britain and Egypt, and being out and out pro-Egypt and anti-British, Jamaluddin Afghani was brought under police surveillance from Hyderabad to Calcutta, where he lived more or less under house arrest until the war was over. Whenever an opportunity presented itself, he went on sowing seeds of discontent and hatred against Western colonialism. Among the most notable Indian Muslim leaders who came under his influence were Sir Salar Jang Bahadur and Sayed Hasan Bilgrami. All those young Muslims of the time, who had realised the political impotency of India under the British became his ardent followers, and they went on increasing in number as he went on touring India—Hyderabad, Calcutta, Bombay, Patna.

Jamaluddin Afghani thereafter visited the United States of America, stayed there for about four months, returned to London, and went over to Paris, where he met the English author and political leader, Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, who became his lifelong friend and admirer. Blunt writes that in one of his earliest meetings with Jamaluddin Afghani, the latter told him that in India the police agents follow and track all patriots, and that when he was in India his activities were being constantly watched by the police. On the least pretext, he continued,

1. The New World of Islam: Lothrop Stoddard, pp. 52-53.

they send young patriotic intellectuals to jail, and deny them all avenues of employment or occupation. He was emphatic in his view that Hindus and Muslims must unitedly deal a death-blow to British imperialism in India. Later on Blunt wrote in one of his books that before proceeding to India, Blunt obtained letters of introduction from Jamaluddin Afghani to three of his friends in India. When he visited them separately and presented them the letters of introduction, each one of them rose from his seat, kissed the letter, opened it and read it. Blunt writes he was struck with the respect and reverence in which celebrated Indian Muslims held Jamaluddin Afghani. Jamaluddin Afghani stayed in Paris for almost three years, during which time he published a magazine in French, "Le Lien Indissoluble". This magazine was read far and wide in the Muslim world, and India was certainly one of the countries where it was popular with young Muslims. The British, alarmed at the campaign of hatred against the British being propagated by the magazine, put a ban on its entry into India. But young Indian Muslims continued to finance the magazine in Paris, and he went on spreading his mission of crusade against Western imperialism. He had also met Mehdi Sudani, and the two became great friends, keeping in touch with each other through mutual friends and occasional secret letters. During his stay in Paris, Jamaluddin Afghani often wrote in French magazines articles on the condition of Muslims in India, exposing the autocratic rule of the British in India. The great Frenchman, Ernest Renan, had written in one of his articles that Islam was opposed to the modern spirit of search for scientific truths, which roused Jamaluddin Afghani to protest. The two giants met in a public debate, and Jamaluddin Afghani conclusively proved during the course of his reply in the debate, by quotations from the Holy Quran and from the *Hadith*, that Islam encouraged the spirit of inquiry and the pursuit of knowledge.[1]

At this time, Gladstone had ceased to be the Prime Minister of England and Randolph Churchill, a friend of Blunt, had taken over that office. Blunt invited Jamaluddin Afghani to England as his guest, so that he may have free and frank personal talks with Randolph Churchill and suggest to him solu-

1. Sayed Jamaluddin Afghani, by Ziauddin Burney, pp. 64-71.

tions to the problems that plagued the relationship of England with India and with the world of Islam. During his stay for three months as the guest of Blunt, he met the Prime Minister often, and did his best to influence him so that there may be a change in the attitude of Britain towards Muslims and India. Imperial policies die hard, and in spite of his best efforts he could not succeed in achieving any positive results. Disappointed, he left England and came to Iran, staying in Shiraz, Ispahan and Teheran for about six months. Nasiruddin was the Shah of Iran at that time. Jamaluddin Afghani met him often, and every time in his conversation with the King, he brought up the question of his autocratic rule, which sat oppressively on the shoulders of the people. He pleaded for granting more rights to the people and for the introduction of some necessary reforms. Minds swayed by selfish consideration hardly ever see the light of logic and reason. The King lost his patience on being pestered with advice which ran contrary to his nature, and he ordered Jamaluddin Afghani to leave Iran without any delay.

Forced to leave Iran, he proceeded to Moscow in the hope that he would be able to enlist the support of Russia in freeing the Muslim world from British bondage. He made Petrograd his headquarters, where he stayed for about two years. The Czar was the absolute monarch of all Russia, and his Muslim subjects along with those of other faiths continued to submit passively to his every whim and caprice. Through the good offices of some friends, who were high up in the imperial court, Jamaluddin Afghani was able to meet the Czar frequently. He pleaded with that monarch to permit the Holy Quran to be translated into Russian, which had hitherto been forbidden. The royal consent being obtained, the Holy Book was translated into Russian and printed, which was a great service to Russian Muslims. Jamaluddin Afghani was like a storm on two legs, and he was touring many countries of Europe and Asia in unending wanderings. For a while he was in Munich, then in Petrograd, and once again he came to Teheran, where he started giving lectures on the inalienable rights of the people, calling upon the Government to grant to the people their fundamental rights. The Shah knew and recognised only one right, that of ruling over his

subjects as he pleased. He ordered that Jamaluddin Afghani be arrested, and on hearing this, he took shelter in a *dargha*, twenty miles outside Teheran. The Shah sent five hundred soldiers to surround the *dargha* and to arrest him. The task accomplished, Jamaluddin Afghani was expelled from Iran and he took shelter in Busra. From Busra he wrote a secret letter to Haji Mirza Hasan Shirazi, an Iranian exile in Samra, in which he forcefully condemned the conditions of decadence brought about in Iran by a selfish and incompetent monarch. British secret intelligence was dogging his steps wherever he went and, as alert as ever, they intercepted this letter, the contents of which were published in a London paper. The letter said that the people of Iran were groaning under a tyrannical rule, and that the ruling class of Iran had sold that country to *kafirs* and the enemies of Islam.[1]

He was now about fiftyfive and constant travelling in those difficult days, coupled with his incarceration on a number of occasions, had affected his health. He was sick in body, but robust as ever in his spirits, intoxicated as he was with the burning passion to free the world of Islam from Western colonialism. He came to London for treatment. But a sick body could not keep him out of work, and he started a magazine in London that advocated the freedom of India from British hands. In one of his articles he wrote that the world of Christianity hates Muslims all over the world, and that Muslims must unite in order to meet this menace.[2] Indian Muslims continued to finance his magazine, although his political thoughts were decades ahead of those of other Muslims.[3] The voice of this magazine, feeble at first, was now beginning to make its impact on the minds of young Muslim intellectuals in England. The Government, apprehensive of consequences, ordered the magazine to be forcefully closed, and it ceased publication. At this time Sultan Abdul Hamid was the ruler of Turkey, whose ideas on the unity and expansion of Islam, which later on came to be known as Pan-Islamism, broadly approximated with those of Jamaluddin Afghani. While Sultan Abdul Hamid wanted the unity of Islam under

1. Syed Jamaluddin Afghani, by Ziauddin Burney, pp. 108-109.
2. *Revue du Mond Musalman*, Paris, March 1912.
3 Modern Review by Sayed Zulfiquar, Calcutta, July 1931.

his personal leadership, Afghani wanted it through a free association of independent and sovereign Muslim States. In 1882 the Sultan, through the Turkish ambassador in London, invited Jamaluddin Afghani to Turkey as his guest, an invitation which he readily accepted.

The Sultan was very friendly, kind and generous to Jamaluddin Afghani, giving him a well furnished house to live in, a carriage, and conferring on him a liberal monthly allowance, and for a while he lived an undisturbed and contented life in Constantinople. But the proverbial courtiers were busy pouring poison into the royal ears against the foreign guest, inventing all sorts of imaginary accusations against him. The vile campaign of insinuation succeeded, and the Sultan posted a police guard over his house, in order to cut him off from communication with the outside world. Commenting on the plight of Jamaluddin Afghani, Blunt wrote that he had gone to Constantinople to meet his friend in his days of adversity, and he found that the Sultan's anger had snatched away from Jamaluddin Afghani all his friends. In feeble health, his body under police surveillance, but his spirit soaring as high as the skies, Jamaluddin Afghani was now bedridden, struck with a serious malady. The doctors pronounced that he was suffering from cancer, and the end was not far. Unafraid of the approach of death, he continued to nurse dreams to free the world of Islam from foreign domination, to take mental notes how the unity of the Islamic world could be brought about. To him there were no sects or sectarian beliefs dividing one Muslim from another; to him all Muslims were brothers, united by the common bond of their Faith, Islam. Through adherence to Islam, they could usher in an era of Pan-Islamism. As he lay in bed, making plans for the liberation of Muslims, death visited him on 8th March, 1897. "Jamal-uddin Afghani died at the age of 60 for the cause of Islam. He has left an undying legend behind him. What little of Islamic unity is visible in the world today is largely due to his work".[1]

Jamaluddin Afghani had travelled a great deal, always on his mission to bring about unity between Muslims of the world against the West. He was, indeed, inspired by the same zeal

1. Muqame Jamaluddin Afghani: Abrar Hasan Farooqui, p. 149.

as has elevated national liberators to become heroes in history. He was no more physically present, but his ideas and policies continued to influence Muslims of his time and of succeeding generations. "He held that there were two great nations, the Muslim and the Christian, engaged in a relentless struggle in which Christiandom is at present the aggressor; the fanatical spirit which produced the Crusades still continues and, however much disguised, is still the motive power behind Western policies; it gives the impetus which urges those powers to perpetuate aggression on Islam, and which shows itself in European literature in constant hatred, abuse, and ridicule of the religion of Islam. Before this relentless opposition the Muslims have no chance unless they unite in self-defence, and it is urgently necessary that the whole community rally to the support of any part attacked".[1]

Jamaluddin Afghani was a man of imposing personality, tall and handsome. He was of brown complexion and gave one the impression that he was of Arab descent. He had a pair of big eyes that seemed to penetrate the inside of one's mind, in spite of the fact that he was myopic. However, he never wore glasses. He usually wore a long flowing role like that worn by the *ulema* of Constantinople. He was a sparse eater, being content with only one meal a day and, considering this, it was surprising that he was able to work for such long hours without tiring and to undertake such whirlwind and difficult journeys. But he drank gallons of tea, being very fond of that beverage like a typical Persian. He seems to have picked up the habit of smoking cigars from the West, and wherever he went he kept himself ready with a copious supply of cigars. He had a prodigious memory, and he could remember faces and events without the least difficulty. Having a flair for languages, he was able to pick up French within three months. Whether travelling or settled in a hotel, he slept little and lightly. A brilliant orator, his eloquence easily swayed his audience. With all that, he spoke haltingly, with a sort of deep deliberation, as he unfolded his views or thoughts on a given problem. A revolutionary by nature and by lifelong habit, he held all

1. *Islam at the Crossroads* by Lacy O'Leary Kegan: Paul, Trench, Trubner, London, 1923, p. 124.

in equal esteem, princes and paupers. This denotes a mind that has imbibed the lesson of human brotherhood. "His concept of democracy was not the annihilation of the citadel of Kingship. He was eager to make the Muslims go forward and to better their conditions. If Kings and Princes stood in his way, he would face them boldly and overcoming them, he went ahead in his life's mission."[1] He was the flag-bearer of the spirit of Revolution at a time when Muslims of the world were being steam-rollered by Western imperialism. "Jamaluddin Afghani was a great scholar. He was a symbol of Revolution in his political teachings. Wherever he went, within a few days he imposed a spirit of Revolution among those peoples."[2]

At the same time he was a visionary, who wanted to translate his dream of Islamic unity into reality. Western diplomacy and machinations were his sworn enemies, and they did everything possible to nullify his work. The discomforts of a life in exile and the terrors of prison-life did not deter him from his life's mission. "Storm was raging around his life, threatening it with extinction. But Jamaluddin Afghani did not know what fear was. He was never down-hearted."[3] For him it was a matter of survival, a matter of life and death for the world of Islam, and if in its preservation he had to sacrifice his own life, he was prepared to pay that supreme price. "He warned the world of Islam that if they were to survive, they should unite. Disunity and division, he warned, would weaken them and would bring about their ultimate ruin."[4]

Jamaluddin Afghani was a champion not only of the Muslim countres, but of all countries of the East that were under Western domination. "Among those Mujahedeen of Islam, who have sacrificed their lives for the oppressed peoples of the East, whose life mission was to regenerate the world of Islam, among them Allama Sayed Jamaluddin Afghani was, undoubtedly, the most outstanding."[5]

1. Maqame Jamaluddin Afghani: Nawab Bahadur Yar Jung, p. 211.
2. Muqame Jamaluddin Afghani: Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Nafis Academy, Karachi, p. 95.
3. Jamaluddin Afghani: Mirza Adeeb, Aena Adab, Lahore, p. 100.
4. Jamaluddin Afghani: Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, Zamindar Press, Lahore, p. 34.
5. Maqame Jamaluddin Afghani: Allama Abdullah Imadi, p. 118.

NAWAB VIQAR-UL-MULK

(1841—1917)

Diwan Abdul Momin Khan was one of the Ministers at the court of the Moghul Emperor, Shah Jehan, around the year 1650. With the decline of the power of that dynasty, the familes of many Muslim noblemen all over India suffered heavily, and one such family was that of Abdul Momin Khan. One of his male decendants, Shaikh Fazal Husain, was settled in a small village in Moradabad district towards the beginning of the nineteenth century. Their family fortunes at a low ebb, Shaikh Fazal Husain and his family lived the life of humble village-folk, eking out a difficult existence, although this family was known for some learned men that it had produced. Shaikh Fazal Husain was married to Batulnissa, and on the 24th of March, 1841, was born in the family a son, whom they named Mushtaq Husain. The child was hardly six months old, when his father died, and the entire responsibility of bringing up the orphan fell on the widowed mother. Although not literate herself, Batulnissa was determined to give her son the best education, and to bring him up as a perfect gentleman. It was the influence of his mother from his very tender age that was responsible for Mushtaq Husain developing into a learned and God-fearing young man.

Mushtaq Husain was sent to a *maktab*, where he sat on the floor with other boys of the village to take his first lessons. The Maulvi would teach the boys to read the Holy Quran, and to write the alphabet on their little wooden boards, which each boy brought with him to school. The fees paid by the students to the teacher at the *maktab* was not on a monthly basis, but whenever the festivals of *Eid* came, the parents would send to the teacher, through their children from two annas to a maximum of rupees two as

tuition fees for the whole year.[1] This fee, paltry as it may seem today, was neither fixed nor binding on all; the children of the poor people of the village were taught completely free. The boys paid little money to their teachers, but showered on them respect, bordering on reverence, and love and devotion in plenty. Mushtaq Husain took his first lessons in the village *maktab*, and later on became a pupil of Maulvi Rahat Ali Amroahi, under whom he learned advanced Arabic, the *Hadith* and *Fiqah*. As it was not possible to find Government employment, without having studied in a Government district school, Mushtaq Husain later on went to one such school. He proved to be an intelligent student, hard-working, well-disciplined and well-behaved. He accepted a post on ten rupees a month as an assistant teacher in the district school, where he had studied.

In 1861 there was famine in the United Provinces, and Sir Syed Ahmed was in charge of relief work in Moradabad district. He entrusted the relief work at Amroha to the energetic and honest young Maulvi Mushtaq Husain, who fulfilled this responsibility to the entire satisfaction of Sir Syed Ahmed, and from that day onwards there grew up between the two a strong bond of mutual attachment. Maulvi Mushtaq Husain had caught the eye of his superiors, and his rise in Government service became markedly accelerated. He was promoted from one post to another, transferred from one place to another, until he was finally appointed to work under Sir Syed Ahmed at Aligarh., where the latter was posted as a subordinate judge. He was an indefatigable worker, and willingly helped his colleagues who were in arrears in their office work. While in service, he began to prepare for the examination to be appointed a *Tehsildar*, which he passed in 1872. When Sir Syed was appointed to distribute relief to the famine-stricken people of Gorakhpur, he requested from Sir John Strachey the services of Maulvi Mushtaq Husain to work under him. Throughout his career as a Government servant, Maulvi Mushtaq Husain showed unbounding independence, and refused to be cowed by the threats or pressure of his superiors even though they were Englishmen. Some English officers took objection to his leaving the office during working hours to go

1. Tazkare Viqar: Mahomed Amin Zuberi, Bhopal 1938 p. 3.

to the mosque for prayers, and they warned him not to do so, as it was an infringement of office hours and office routine. But Maulvi Mushtaq Husain was not to be cowed down. He would rather submit his resignation than give up his prayers, the time for which fell during office hours. Although he was drawing one hundred rupees a month as salary, which was considered a princely sum in those days, he submitted his resignation, and begged for its acceptance if he was not to be allowed time for prayers. With the intervention of some well intentioned English officers, he was given permission for prayers, and his resignation was withdrawn.

After some time, Sir Syed Ahmed was transferred from Aligarh to Benares, and Nawab Samiullah Khan, another devoted worker in the cause of Aligarh, succeeded him as Sub-Judge. Viqar-ul Mulk continued to work under Nawab Samiullah Khan in his court, and it was the influence of these two great stalwarts of the Aligarh movement that created in Viqar-ul Mulk's heart an abiding love for the cause of Aligarh, starting his career as a humble worker for spreading the message of Aligarh. He became a member of the Scientific Society in 1866 and was in charge of getting *Tahzibul Ikhlaq* printed. In 1870, the Society for the Promotion of Education Among Muslims invited essays on a competitive basis for publication in this magazine, the topic for discussion being the causes that had resulted in the then prevailing deplorable condition of Muslim education, and steps to bring about an educational renaissance among the Muslims. Viqar-ul Mulk submitted his entry for the contest, in which after making a masterly analysis, he advocated that Muslims should take to modern education and that Aligarh should be the centre for the spread of education among the Muslims of India. His essay was awarded the second prize, the first being won by the essay entered by Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk. In 1873, it was decided by the College Foundation Committee to establish a primary school at Aligarh. Maulvi Samiullah Khan was the Secretary of the Aligarh branch, and he was entrusted with the work of looking after this school, in the absence of Sir Syed Ahmed. But in actual fact, the moving spirit behind the work of the school was that tireless worker, Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk.

In 1875, he was invited to serve in Hyderabad State, which offer he accepted, and the number of years that he had served under the British were added to his service record in Hyderabad Within one year of his appointment, he caught the eye of Nawab Sir Salar Jang, who raised him to the position of a judicial Minister. It was in consequence of a report that he submitted in 1878 regarding the reorganisation of the judiciary system that progressive reforms were introduced. During the famine of 1877, Maulvi Mushtaq Husain prepared a comprehensive scheme for the distribution of relief and assistance to the famine-stricken people, and recommended the setting up of homes for the poor and the disabled. His suggestions were accepted in full, and he was put in charge of relief work. Whenever he visited famine camps and homes for the poor, he spent hours with them, endeavouring to brighten the gloom of their life with kind words and financial assistance. Sir Salar Jang in one of his statements, paid fulsome tribute to his humanitarian work. He continued to serve Hyderabad State for seventeen years, and his career was replete with rich achievement. But due to open differences between the English Resident and Sir Salar Jang, Maulvi Mushtaq Husain found himself a target of local intrigues, usually associated with the old order in an Indian State, where the representative of the British pulled powerful strings from behind the scenes. He had been elevated to the rank of a Nawab, and his full title was Nawab Mushtaq Husain Viqar-ul-Mulk. In his last years at Hyderabad he was drawing a salary of four thousand and five hundred rupees a month, most of which he spent in helping the poor, the needy, the orphans and widows. He did not lose any opportunity during his service at Hyderabad to go on serving the cause of Aligarh. He resigned from Hyderabad State service in 1892.

After tendering his resignation, he took up residence in Amroha and led a semi-retired life for about eight years. However, in the first years of the twentieth century, when Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk saw that there was public controversy over Urdu under the pro-Hindi Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Anthony MacDonnel, he jumped into the affray in the defence of Urdu. He sought an interview with the Governor in

order to explain to him the importance of Urdu and the sentimental value attached by Muslims to that language. But the arrogant representative of the British refused him an interview, and Nawab Viqarul Mulk decided to do all that lay in his power for the propagation of the cause of Urdu. It must be said that, while living in retirement at Amroha, he had to face many family misfortunes. His eldest son, Mahomed Ahmed, died in 1896 at the age of twentyeight. The following year he lost his wife and his grand-daughter Hamid Fatima, the daughter of Mahmud Ahmed through an English wife, whom he had married in England when he was reading for the Bar in that country. In spite of his private misfortunes, he continued to serve all public causes which were in the best interests of the Muslims of India.

Muslim leaders like Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk and Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk were beginning to realise that, if Muslims were to occupy a dignified and respectable position in the national life of India, they should not only spread education among their co-religionists, they should also organise themselves politically. The Hindus had started the Indian National Congress in 1885, and in 1893 Sir Syed Ahmed had started the Mohamadan Anglo-Oriental Defence Association, to protect the legitimate political interests of the Muslims, in whose organisation he had received able support from Theodore Beck. Mohsin-ul-Mulk advocated the revival of the Defence Association, and Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk heartily agreed with him. Actually, the latter was entrusted with the task of organising the Defence Association, and to achieve this he toured India extensively. The Muslims at this time were, however, steeped in political lethargy and, in spite of his speeches and writings, he made little progress. The first meeting under the auspices of the Defence Association was held at Lucknow in 1901. Viqar-ul-Mulk saw for himself that the response had been poor, but he never gave up the work of political organisation of the Muslims, and his efforts and those of Mohsin-ul-Mulk were to bear fruit some years after the first seeds were sown.

Mohsin-ul-Mulk was getting on in years, and he found the burdens of the Mohammadan Anglo-Oriental College too heavy for his shoulders. Viqar-ul-Mulk had been his close associate and friend for a number of years, and now in his days

of retirement, Viqar-ul-Mulk began to take increasing interest in the affairs of the College. He stood so close to Mohsin-ul-Mulk, the Secretary of the College, that there was no doubt in anybody's mind as to who would succeed him when he died. It came to pass in 1907, for, when Mohsin-ul Mulk died, Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk was unanimously elected Secretary of the Board of Trustees. At that time Theodore Beck was the Principal of the College, and there soon arose acute differences between the Principal, supported by the entire English staff, on the one hand, and the Secretary and the Trustees on the other hand. In the days of Sir Syed Ahmed, one of the college boys had been expelled from the hostel, as a number of boys had beaten some servants of the hostel. As a protest many boarders left the hostel and went to stay in a local *serai*. Sir Syed decided that a compromise should be effected between the management and the staff. But Beck, the English principal, stood for strict discipline and spurned all attempts at compromise. Maulvi Samiullah Khan severely condemned the attitude of the English principal and professors, and the latter in turn saw to it that Sir Syed would be succeeded by his son Syed Mahmud and not by Maulvi Samiullah Khan. When this measure was adopted, Samiullah Khan resigned as a member of the Board of Trustees. When Mohsin-ul-Mulk took over as Secretary, the English principal and staff were strongly supported by Sir Anthony MacDonnel, who threatened to cut the college grant, if the Secretary interfered with the internal management of the College affairs, for which, the Governor said, the last word rested with the Principal. This controversy was still raging, when Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk took over as Secretary of the College in 1907, and the Principal of the College was Archbold.

On 20th March, 1908, Principal Archbold submitted his resignation, "as a result of the continued interference of the Honorary Secretary". He was supported by the English professors of the College. The Governor at this time was Sir John Hewett, who intervened and imposed a compromise, which Viqar-ul-Mulk thought was unfair. He placed the matter before the Board in a meeting duly called for this purpose, and the Trustees supported the stand taken by the Secretary. The Governor invited Viqar-ul-Mulk for private talks to

discuss the matter, which he declined, saying that the matter now vested with the Trustees. The Muslim press also openly sided with Viqar-ul-Mulk, and His Highness the Aga Khan sent a cable from England to the Government not to precipitate matters and thus lose the goodwill of the Muslims. The stale mate continued for some time, until Principal Archbold submitted his resignation. The Trustees thereafter adopting a resolution clearly defining the powers of the Honorary Secretary and the Principal, forbidding the latter to write directly to the Government or to any Government department. "Thus ended a long-drawn controversy about the administration of the College and a new era was opened in its working."

October 1906 is important in the history of our struggle for freedom, for it was at that time that a Muslim deputation waited on the Viceroy, Lord Minto, demanding separate electorates for the Muslims of India. Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk was a member of the deputation. Two months later, the Muslim Educational Conference met at Dacca on 30th December, 1906, with Nawab Sir Salimullah Khan of Dacca in the chair. In his introductory speech Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk dwelt on the absolute necessity of Muslims organising themselves politically, and warned them of the dangers that lay ahead if they failed to read the writing on the wall. He said, "The purpose for which we have met today is nothing new. It arose from the day the Indian National Congress was founded, so much so that the late lamented Sir Syed Ahmed Khan, for whose sagacious and far-sighted policy we will always remain indebted, was so moved by the growing strength of the Congress that he valiantly strove to convince the Muslims that their betterment and security lay in abstaining from participation in the Congress. This advice was so sound that, though he is not among us today, yet the Muslims firmly hold to it, and as time passes we realise more and more that the Muslims should make the maximum efforts to protect their political rights".[1]

Then he traced the history of recent political events in the country, and said, "Realising the increase in the internal and external influence of the Congress in the wake of the partition

1. Quoted in Pakistan Movement : Historic Documents, G. Allana. p. 21.

of Bengal and noting the Government's intention to expand the legislative councils the Muslims waited in deputation on the Viceroy and placed before him their needs and the injustices they have had to suffer as a nation. The proceedings of the deputation and the Viceroy's reply have appeared in the press. The Muslim leaders who, as members of the deputation had gathered at Simla, after considering the steps *to be taken to safeguard the political rights of the Muslims on* a permanent footing, had resolved that delegates from different provinces should meet at Dacca towards the end of December and decide the question.".[1]

In the end he warned the Muslims that after the withdrawal of the British *from* India, it would be the Hindus that would rule over them. "The Muslims are only one-fifth of the population of other communities of India. It is quite obvious that, if at any time the British Government ceases to exist in India, the nation which is four times more numerous will rule the country. Now, gentlemen, everyone should ponder as to what would be our condition at that time. In such a contingency our lives, our property, our honour, our religion, all will be in jeopardy. Today when the might of the British Government affords protection to the people there are numerous instances of the difficulties and troubles we experience at the hands of our neighbours in the various provinces. Woe betide the time when we have to live as subjects of these people who want to take revenge of Aurangzeb from us after hundreds of years. Of course, it is our duty, as far as our influence goes, to dissuade our friends from following the wrong path, to treat them nicely as our neighbours, to show sympathy to them on the social plane and refrain from any antagonistic attitude towards them, while safeguarding our rights and interests. Whatever differences we now have or may have in future with the Congress concern three matters—firstly those demands of the Congress which imperil the existence of the British Government in India; secondly those questions which are prejudicial to our legitimate rights; thirdly their violent tone against the Government which the Muslims do not appreciate".[2]

1. Quoted in Pakistan Movement: Historic Documents, G. Allana, p. 21
2. Ibid. p. 22

On the same day, there was a meeting of leading Muslims held at Dacca under the chairmanship of Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk in which it was resolved to form a political organisation of the Muslims, to be known as "The India Muslim League". The resolution said,

"Resolved that this meeting composed of Musalmans from all parts of India assembled at Dacca decides that a political association, styled 'The India Muslim League' be formed for the furtherance of the following objects :—

(a) To promote among the Musalmans of India the feeling of loyalty to the British Government and remove any misconception that may arise as to the intention of the Government with regard to any of its measures.

(b) To protect and advance the political rights and interests of the Musalmans of India, and respectfully to represent the needs and aspirations to Government; and

(c) To prevent the rise among the Musalmans of India of any feeling of hostility towards other communities without prejudice to the other objects of the League."

The above resolution was moved by the Nawab of Dacca and seconded by Hakim Ajmal Khan.[1]

He served the College as its Honorary Secretary for five years, and during this period he put new life into Aligarh College and into the Aligarh movement. In 1912, at the age of seventyone, he found that his ill-health would just not permit him to carry on this onerous responsibility any longer. Therefore, in that year, in the best interests of the College, he tendered his resignation. Although he had ceased to be its Secretary, he continued to be in the forefront in the affairs of the College and in all matters of public importance that affected the Muslims of India. He continued to advocate that Government should not interfere with the affairs of the College. In 1913, when a number of Muslims were busy helping, voluntarily, in the construction of a demolished mosque at Cawnpore, the English District Magistrate ordered the police to open fire on them. They were building the mosque in defiance of Government orders. Nawab Viqar-ul Mulk-was indignant, and he exhorted the Muslims to vehemently protest

1. Quoted in Pakistan Movement: Historic Documents, G. Allana, pp. 22-23.

against the brutal behaviour of Tyler, the District Magistrate, for, he warned, "If you don't, then in the future every sub-inspector of police will behave like a Tyler towards us".

By 1915, his health had completely deteriorated. He had a stroke of paralysis, and Dr. Mukhtar Ahmed Ansari and Hakim Ajmal Khan were in attendance on him. He continued to struggle for life for about two years, but his doctors knew that the end was not far. In the first days of January 1917, it was obvious that he had only a few days to live. But he kept up a brave fight. The end came on 27th January 1917, and he was buried in his family graveyard at Amroha.

"The Islamic and simple living of Nawab Saheb brought about a revolutionary change in our materialistic and ostentatious way of living. It was his example that inspired us to respect the true Muslim way of life. It was he who proved to us that even in the modern twentieth century, a Muslim can live a truly Islamic life, and at the same time serve his community and his nation."[1]

1. A letter by Maulana Shaukat Ali. quoted in *Tazkar-e-Viqar*: Mahomed Amin Zuberi, p. 384.

SYED AMEER ALI

(1849—1928)

"By the efforts of this man, the hungry were fed, the naked were clothed, the sick healed and the wounded restored to health. The footsore refugee was helped on his way and many a mother clasps to her breast a living child that otherwise would have perished by the wayside. The despairing peasant, faced by the ruin of war, was again provided with implements to till the soil and seed corn was placed in his hands." This was the note left on the tomb of Syed Ameer Ali, along with red carnations, by the British Soldiers' Society. It reminded one of the great humanitarian work done by him during the Balkan Wars in the cause of alleviating human misery and suffering. A Muslim by birth, and a great Muslim scholar through a life dedicated to studies, his human sympathies were not confined and circumscribed by religious boundaries, but they were universal in their scope.

War had broken out in Tripolitania between Turkey and Italy. Human suffering sprawled like eternity on the battlefields, where the Red Cross Society was doing excellent work. But his discerning eyes visualised that he should organize relief work from England, and he brought into being the British Red Crescent Society, primarily to look after the wounded and the afflicted, who professed the Faith of Islam. "With characteristic energy he got to work, and aided by the generosity of H. H. the Aga Khan and other persons of all classes both Indian and English, he launched the British Red Crescent Society, which has since done such admirable work in many parts of the world."[1] The Society rendered invaluable services to the afflicted Arabs. "I had the good fortune to be amongst the surgeons who went out and it gives me the greatest pleasure to testify to the fact that our work was entirely

1. Syed Ameer Ali: Ernest H. Griffin.

unhampered by any display of religious bigotry. I well remember taking my final instructions from Syed Amir Ali. When I asked him if relief was to be confined to Muslims, he replied, "Although your first duty is to the Turkish and Arab wounded, you will never turn away any poor Christian or Jew, who presents himself to you in his hour of need."[1]

Although his life and work were devoted to educational advancement and to a greater degree of political consciousness among the Muslims of India, he was not a narrow-minded nationalist. He had a broad and universal vision of human progress, for reaching which goal national advances were definitely a great help, provided they were not exclusive or isolationist, nor anti-internationalist. "In my opinion, Nationalism pure and simple is a reversion to primitive tribal instincts. The first impulse of primitive man is to club his adversary belonging to another tribe, and to seize his belongings. The present day nationalists, speaking with the greatest respect, are equally uncompromising and equally intolerant. And this is not confined to any particular country."[2]

His life and work influenced not only the times in which he lived, but they helped to give proper direction to political development among the Muslims of this sub-continent long after he died. "As an expounder of Islam in English, he had no equal. As a Muslim jurist, he was unrivalled; as an interpreter of Muslim Law, he was recognised as an authority in the Islamic world. As a stout champion of Muslim interests, he was known the world over."[3]

The first ancestor of Syed Ameer Ali to come to India was Ahmed Afzal Khan, who came as an officer with the conquering armies of Nadir Shah in 1739. "We trace our descent from the Prophet through his daughter Fatima. Our ancestor, the eighth apostolic Imam, Ali surnamed Al-Raza, is buried at Mashhad, the principal city of Khurasan in N.-E. Persia."[4] Ahmad Afzal Khan came as a soldier of fortune, but he fell to the charm of India and decided to settle down permanently in India, making the small city of Mohan in Oudh his place of

1. Syed Ameer Ali: Ernest H. Griffin.
2. Memoirs: Syed Ameer Ali.
3. Syed Ameer Ali: Syed Murtaza Ali. Morning News, 24-5-1968.
4. Memoirs: Syed Ameer Ali.

residence. "The descendants of the Prophet (the Syeds) have ever since their arrival in India always settled in townships already occupied by kinsmen who had preceded them in the search for new homes. The four townships of Hillour, Barah in Muzaffargarh, Mohan and Bilgram in Oudh, were the favourite places at which they congregated."[1] Ameer Ali's grandfather, Munawar Ali Khan, was in the service of Nawab Asaf-ud-Daula of Oudh as Revenue Collector, "a stawart man, bluff in his ways, rather fierce-looking with his upturned moustache."[2] Munawar Ali Khan died in a battle in 1820 and his son, Saadat Ali, was brought up by his uncle, Sirajuddin Ali Khan, and ultimately qualified as a Hakim, a profession which Sirajuddin did not very much relish. He was very fond of travelling, and during one of his journeys he stayed with his cousin, Jaffar Ali Khan, Deputy Collector at Cuttack in Orissa. There he married the daughter of Shamshuddin Khan, a nobleman of Sambalpur, who bore him five sons, the fourth of whom was Syed Ameer Ali. The family settled in Cuttack, where Saadat Ali made the acquaintance of Malet, a judge of the Orissa High Court, and of Dr. Mowat, Director of Education in Bengal. These two gentlemen persuaded Saadat Ali to give his sons a liberal English education, advice which he readily accepted. He came to Calcutta and got his three elder sons admitted in the Calcutta Madressah, Ameer Ali being an infant at that time. Saadat Ali soon tired of Calcutta and proceeded to Hooghly, where his two elder sons were admitted in the Mohsinia College.

Saadat Ali was a great scholar in Arabic and Persian, and while engaged in writing the biography of the Holy Prophet, he died in 1856, a victim of cholera. Orphaned at a very early age in his life, Ameer Ali found a pillar of strength in his mother, who was a devout but fearless lady. As a boy, Ameer Ali was fond of shooting, and he had collected quite a few guns of his own at the age of fourteen. Studious by nature, and a voracious reader, he showed early promise of a high educational career. Ameer Ali received his early education from a Maulvi at home in Urdu and Persian, and later joined the Hooghly College. "The College at Hooghly was

1. Memoirs: Syed Ameer Ali.
2. Ibid.

divided into two water-tight compartments; one was called the Anglo-Persian department for Muslim students, the other was exclusively for Hindu youth."[1] In his college days at Hooghly, Ameer Ali read most of the works of Shakespeare, Milton, Shelley, Keats, Byron, and Longfellow, and had mastered that monumental work, Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. In those formative years of his life, he was under the influence of a great Muslim scholar, Syed Karamat Ali, and with the help of Prof. Obaidullah Obaidi, he translated Syed Karamat Ali's *Markhazi Ulum* into English, this being his first literary venture, while he was yet in his teens. "Whatever knowledge of Muslim philosophy I happen to possess, I owe to Syed Karamat Ali."[2]

Syed Ameer Ali passed his B.A. in 1867, thus becoming one of the first Muslim graduates in India. In the following year, he passed his M.A. in History, thus being the first Bengali Muslim to get an M.A. degree. In 1868, he passed his law degree, and in the same year, being awarded a Government scholarship, he proceeded to England for higher studies by the P. & O. Ship, *Simla*. "Neither the ship nor the food in the saloon were at all to my taste . . . . . The servant I had taken with me added to my troubles; he was a very particular Muslim and objected to everything on board" . . . . . . He reached England after about a month's journey. "I lived in the family of the widow of a clergyman, a Mrs. Chase, until my return to India four years later. She treated me as one of themselves . . . . . London did not appear to me inhospitable or uninviting as it does to many foreigners."[3] He joined the Inner Temple. During his early days, he was on visiting terms with some high-ranking families in the social life of London as also a close acquaintance of some eminent men of letters and of public life. Syed Ameer Ali, mainly through the efforts of Miss Manning, helped in the formation of the National Indian Association in 1871, which was the social meeting ground for Indian students and such English families as were interested in Indian affairs. His book, *The Critical Examination of the Life and Teachings of Mohammad*, which appeared

1. Memoirs: Syed Ameer Ali
2. ibid.
3. ibid.

in 1873, made a deep and favourable impression on those Englishmen who read it. He dedicated this book to his elder brother, Syed Waris Ali, who had recently died of a heart attack. "Regarded simply as a literary achievement, we have never read anything issuing from the educated classes in this country, which could be compared with it, and the Muslims of India are to be congratulated on the possession of so able a man in their ranks."[1]

When in 1871, Sir Syed Ahmed visited England, Syed Ameer Ali frequently called on the sage of Aligarh and discussed with him problems confronting the Muslims of India. The two differed in their choice of solutions to the existing difficulties. "Syed Ahmed Khan pinned his faith in English education and academical training. I admitted their importance but urged that, unless as a community, their political training ran on parallel lines with that of their Hindu counterparts, they were certain to be sumberged in the rising tide of the new nationalism. He would not admit the correctness of my forecast, but I believe the birth of the National Congress opened his eyes."[2]

Syed Ameer Ali was called to the Bar on the 27th of January, 1873, and shortly after he sailed by steamer from Genoa for Bombay. On his way from London to Genoa, he stopped in Paris and met that great French orientalist, M. Garcin de Tassy, who spoke to him in perfect and chaste Urdu, and recited numerous couplets by heart of Sauda and Atesh. "M. de Tassy was one of the most charming persons."[3]

Returning to India, he got himself enrolled as an advocate in the Calcutta High Court in February 1873, there being only three other Indian barristers practising at that High Court. His success at the Bar was instantaneous, and he soon had a flourishing practice, his reputation as an authority on Mohamadan Law being unrivalled. "My first two cases, in which important questions of Muslim Law were involved, established me as an expert in that branch of the law."[4] He was appointed a lecturer in Muslim Law in Calcutta University, and in 1877 he was appointed to officiate as Presidency

1. Major R. D. Osborn: Calcutta Review.
2. Memoirs: Syed Ameer Ali.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.

Magistrate of Calcutta. Conditions in Calcutta bordered on lawlessness, and it was due to strict methods adopted and heavy punishments imposed by Syed Ameer Ali that, "In a few weeks peaceable citizens were able to go about their business without molestation or threat of blackmail."[1] It was entirely due to his efforts that a reformatory for juvenile offenders was opened at Alipore. "For 25 years I laboured to make the Reformatory a beneficent institution, and I only severed my connection with the Reformatory when I retired from the High Court Bench to go to England in 1904."[2]

Syed Ameer Ali had made a mark for himself, both as a conscientious Magistrate and as a public spirited citizen. He was, therefore, nominated as a member of the Bengal Legislative Council, in which capacity he served from 1878 to 1879, and again from 1881 to 1883. His splendid work in the Bengal Assembly was greatly appreciated, and in 1883 he was nominated a member of the National Legislative Council, there being only two other Indians, both Hindus, who were members of the Imperial Council. As a member of the Imperial Council, he threw his weight on the side of progressive legislation, and in this connection his outspoken advocacy for the acceptance of the Bengal Tenancy Act, 1885, needs to be specially mentioned.

In 1875, the Calcutta Hindus had founded the Indian Association and the India League, which were in fact Hindu political organisations. Syed Ameer Ali was the first to clearly visualise that the Muslims should also organise themselves politically if they were to have an honoured place in Indian public life. With his characteristic zeal and devotion, he started a move to form the Central National Mohamadan Association, which was established in 1877, with Syed Ameer Ali as its founder Secretary. It soon came to have 53 branches spread all over India, and this gave a tremendous filip to political awakening among the Muslims of India. He continued to serve this Association for over 25 years, during which time he rendered invaluable services to the cause of Muslim political advancement in India. "Syed Ameer Ali was the pioneer

1. Memoirs: Syed Ameer Ali.
2. Ibid.

of political movements by Muslims in India and established the first political organisation of the Muslims."[1] In one of his memoranda to Lord Morley, the Secretary of State for India, he wrote in 1909, "The Musalman population numbering fifty-three million, can hardly be dealt with as a minority. Though living intermixed with non-Muslims, they form a distinct nationality, divided by traditions of race, religion, and ideals." "For Syed Ameer Ali and myself, 1907 was a period of what I can best describe as guerilla warfare, whose aim was to keep Morley up to the mark. We won in the end, but it was hard going."[2] He can truly be said to have played a very important role in organising Muslims in the initial stages of their political struggle. "Ameer Ali was the first Muslim to realise the necessity of a political organisation. He established at Calcutta in 1877 the first political body of the Muslim community of the subcontinent."[3] Submitting a memorandum on behalf of the Central National Mohammadan Association in 1892 to the Viceroy, Syed Ameer Ali demanded special consideration for the educational advancement of the Muslims of India, as also to give them adequate representation in Government services. Lord Dufferin issued a comprehensive resolution accepting those demands, and Syed Ameer Ali can, therefore, be considered to have rendered yeoman services to the Muslims of India in those difficult days. "The idea of a separate nationhood of Muslims was born in Bengal primarily under the leadership of Ameer Ali. His role in securing separate electorates has been recognised in the report of the Simon Commission."[4]

Syed Ameer Ali had an established and lucrative practice and he received many cases that were being decided in courts other than the Calcutta High Court. In 1884, he was engaged to defend the accused in an important case before the Sessions Judge in Karachi. During his visit to Karachi, he met that great educationalist of Sind Muslims, Hasanali Effendi, and the two discussed at great length the educational problems of the Muslims of Sind. In the course of a public speech that he made in a gathering of Muslims in Karachi, he exhorted

1. Syed Ameer Ali: Syed Murtaza Ali. Morning News, 24-5-1968.
2. Memoirs: Aga Khan. p. 104.
3. Syed Ameer Ali: Dr. A. Rahim.
4. Syed Ameer Ali: Syed Murtaza Ali.

them to shake off their lethargy, to read the writing on the wall, and to give their childrena liberal education in English.

In 1885, the Indian National Congress was founded, and the Central National Mohammadan Association was one of its sponsors. But one year later, seeing that the Congress was being largely dominated by Hindu interests, Syed Ameer Ali dissociated the National Mohammadan Association from the Congress, and laid stress on the separate political organisation of the Muslims of India. In 1889, he presided over the annual session of the All-India Mohammadan Educational Conference, and during the course of his presidential address he advised that Madressahs in Bengal should be organised on the model of the M.A.O. College, Aligarh. In 1890, he was appointed a judge of the Calcutta High Court, thus being the second Muslim in the subcontinent to be raised to the Bench. He retired from this office in 1904, and decided to settle down in England permanently. Perhaps, the fact that he had an English wife, and that his two sons were studying in England had a lot to do with this decision.

The London Branch of the All-India Muslim League was established in May 1908, and His Highness the Aga Khan appointed Syed Ameer Ali as its first President. "The first task to which I set myself was to launch the London Muslim League.... The object of our organisation, *inter alia*, was.... to promote concord and harmony among the different nationalities of India."[1] On 27th January, 1909, Syed Ameer Ali led a deputation on behalf of the London Branch of the Muslim League to Lord Morley, Secretary of State for India, demanding separate electorates for the Muslims of India in Legislative Assemblies and in Local Bodies. "The fulfilment of the Muslims' demand for separate electorates was largely due to activities undertaken under the enthusiastic zeal of Ameer Ali."[2] With his characteristic spirit of decision, Syed Ameer Ali made the London Branch of the Muslim League a dynamic and live political organisation. He issued in its name a number of pamphlets and letters to the press, explaining the Muslim point of view on many problems. He also organised in London the British Red Crescent Society during the

1. Memoirs: Syed Ameer Ali.
2. History of the Freedom Movement: Dr. R. C. Majumdar.

Balkan Wars and the War between Turkey and Italy, as the British Red Cross Society was apathetic towards the Muslim sufferers and victims of war. The relief work was started by the British Red Crescent Society in February, 1912, and it did some excellent work, which came in for a good deal of praise from non-partisan English observers as well. The British Minister at Sofia had cabled Syed Ameer Ali that the need for relief work was great and a mission would be welcomed. "The call could not be refused, particularly as a handsome special donation towards responding to it was made by His Highness the Aga Khan."[1] Dr. Haigh was sent as head of the Mission and a number of lives were saved. "I am giving bread daily to nearly 45,000 people, on which the Mufti and other Turkish gentlemen assure me the city is practically dependent."[2]

Believing that it was discreditable to the World of Islam that there was no mosque in London, Syed Ameer Ali "launched in November 1910 the project I had cherished of a mosque in London.... Comparatively a small proportion only of the large sum needed for a mosque in London was subscribed, and this fund is deposited in the Bank of England under the Trusteeship of Lord Ampthill, and H. H. The Aga Khan, associated with me."[3]

In 1909 Syed Ameer Ali was appointed a member of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, thus becoming the first Indian to hold that high office. His profound knowledge of Indian Law in general, and Muslim Law in particular, was of invaluable help.

Along with his work in the field of educational advancement and political awakening among the Muslims of India, Syed Ameer Ali continued to serve the cause of Islam by producing a number of books on Islam. His most notable contributions in this field were *The Spirit of Islam*, first published in 1891 in London, and *A Short History of the Saracens*, first published in 1899, also from London. Both these books occupy a unique position in the literature produced in England at this period, and his fame rests solidly as an author of great repute and as a

1. Memoirs and Writings of Syed Ameer Ali: Syed Razi Wasti, p. 114.
2. Report to The British Red Crescent Society: General Broadwood.
3. Memoirs: Syed Amir Ali.

scholar of profound learning on these two books. They have been published ever since their first appearance, in many editions, and have been translated into a number of languages. His other works include, *Islam*, *Women in Islam*, *Mohammadan Law*, *The Rights of Persia*, *The Personal Law of the Mohammadans*, *A Commentary on the Bengal Act*, *The Legal Position of Women in Islam*. He often contributed letters and articles to the *Observer*, *The Times*, and the *Nineteenth Century Review*, focusing the attention of the British public on the problems facing the Muslims of the world in general and of India in particular. He wrote his *Memoirs* in 1928, and they appeared in series in 1931-32 in the *Islamic Culture*, published from Hyderabad, Deccan.

When the First World War broke out, Syed Ameer Ali did all he could to organise medical relief for the Turks, and to advocate the cause of the world of Islam at a time, when it was feared that the interests of the Muslim countries would be sacrificed in order to satisfy some foreign powers and to create new spheres of influence for Western Powers in the Middle East. "In June 1919 the Indian Muslims in England, under the leadership of Ameer Ali, the Aga Khan, and Sir Abbas Ali Baig addressed a memorial to the Prime Minister of England requesting that Turkey proper. Thrace and Constantinople be left intact and uninterfered with under the sovereignty of the Sultan. The Aga Khan and Ameer Ali addressed a letter to *The Times* advocating the same policy."[1] This was a difficult period for the Muslims of the world, and their energetic advocacy by Syed Ameer Ali was a great source of strength to them. "My friend Syed Ameer Ali and I began an energetic campaign to put the real issues, so far as Turkey was concerned, before the British, and indeed world public opinion. I had private interviews with numerous influential statesmen, together we wrote long letters to *The Times*; on every possible public and private ocasion we made our views known."[2] The British Red Cross Society received frantic appeals for relief to the Moroccan War sufferers. The Aga Khan and Syed Ameer Ali in a joint letter to *The Times* wrote, "We regret, however, that the funds of the Society are not

1. Syed Ameer Ali: Syed Murtaza Ali.
2. Memoirs: Aga Khan, p. 153.

adequate for the purpose. The Committee, therefore, venture to appeal to the generosity of the public, which, in the relief of human suffering and distress, makes no discrimination of race or religion, for help to send out a properly equipped mission. We feel confident that both the French and Spanish authorities will afford every facility to such a mission of mercy."[1]

In 1923, the Aga Khan and Syed Ameer Ali wrote a joint letter to Ismat Pasha of Turkey, inviting the attention of the Grand National Assembly, "That the religious leadership of the Sunni world should be continued intact in accordance with the Shariat." The letter was published in the newspapers of Constantinople, and it invited the full wrath of the Turks who were against the continuation of the Kaliphate, the editors of the papers being sentenced for publishing treasonable matter. The Public Prosecutor accused the Aga Khan and Syed Ameer Ali as 'the real criminals'. Thereupon, the Aga Khan and Syed Ameer Ali wrote a letter to *The Times* in which they said, "We recognise the signal service which Kamal Pasha rendered to the country, but the uncertainty surrounding the position of the Caliph being likely to cause disintegration of Islam, we thought we might bring this matter to the notice of the Turkish Assembly and urge that the Caliph's dignity might be placed on an assured position in order to maintain his prestige and command the confidence and esteem of the Sunni world."[2] The Muslims of the world had indeed a tireless champion in the person of Syed Ameer Ali. "His zeal and earnestness in the service of Islam had put Muslims all over the world under deep obligation to him."[3]

He was leading a retired life in a secluded corner of Berkshire in England, but his restless spirit for service always drove him into worthy public causes, which were beneficial to the Muslims of India and of the world. He was a loving husband and a devoted father, spending the twilight of his old age in the company of his wife and two sons, to all of whom he was so deeply attached. He was almost eighty, and he had now made his house in Polingford Manor in Sussex. "His

1. The Times, London. 18-10-1924.
2. The Times, London.
3. Syed Ameer Ali: Syed Murtaza Ali.

aristocratic face set off by his thick iron grey hair and his white moustache made him a figure of utmost dignity." He knew his end was near, but he kept up a keen interest in his literary activities. He was now too old and sick to lead an active public life, and preferred to spend most of his time in his own house in Sussex. He died on the 3rd of August, 1928, and among those who attended his funeral were Maulana Mohammad Ali, Sir Ziauddin Ahmed, and Sir Abbas Ali Baig.

MAULANA OBAIDULLAH SINDHI

(1872—1944)

The Sikhs were quite a power in the Punjab at the beginning of the nineteenth century, and many Sikh families were profitably employed in the administrative machinery as officers that ran the Government of the Punjab. Gulab Rai was one such Sikh officer, and he and his family lived a life of comfort and contentment. It was good to have a job with a good salary, and which also gave one a certain amount of power and authority. Gulab Rai, in order to ensure the financial security of his family, secured a good and lucrative post for his son, Jaspat Rai With the decline of the Sikh power, those that depended on Government service had to seek employment elsewhere, and Ram Singh, the son of Jaspat Rai, came to settle in Sialkot, where he set himself up as a goldsmith, while his other relatives either found some petty Government jobs or started business on a modest scale. The business of Ram Sing prospered, and he married a girl from the Sikh community of Sialkot. Their first child was a girl, whom they named Jiwani, and on 10th March, 1872, was born in Chianwali village in Sialkot district their second child, a son, who was later on to become famous as Maulana Obaidullah Sindhi.

Ram Sing died four months after the birth of his son, and thereafter his wife and two children went to live with Jaspat Rai. They had hardly lived there for about twenty months, when Jaspat Rai also died. The young mother, with her two children, decided it would be best to go and seek shelter under the roof of her own father, who was happy to receive his daughter and his two grandchildren. After some time, when the old man died, the young mother thought of her two brothers, who were *Patwaris* in Jampur in District Dera Ghazi Khan. They only too willing to accommodate

their sister and her two children. At the age of six, the young orphaned boy entered an Urdu School at Jampur, and in 1887 he entered the Middle School in the third standard. The young lad had proved to be an exceptionally brilliant student and was at the top in his class. While in the middle school, an Arya Samaji boy gave him a book, *Tuhfat-ul-Hind*, which he read avidly and was greatly influenced by it. While in the third standard, the boy developed a liking for Islam and began to read whatever book on Islam he could lay his hands on. Suddenly he decided he would become a Muslim convert. Knowing that this would annoy his mother, his sister and his uncles, he ran away from home and settled in another village in Sialkot District. Here some of his school friends gave him a copy of the book, *Taqwiat-ul-Iman* by Maulana Ismail Shahid, which proved to be another milestone in his conversion to Islam. "On reading this, I was convinced of the Truth of God's Unity, as taught by Islam."[1] He showed unmistakable signs of being a revolutionary at that young age, a mind that dared to chalk out its own course on its voyage through life, even though it be at the risk of offending his own family. "Now I began to offer Namaz regularly, and I took the name of Obaidullah after the name of the author of *Tauhfat-ul-Hind*".[2] He now declared publicly that he had embraced Islam. He later wrote that he had at first learnt Islam from a Hindu scholar, who called himself Pandit Maulvi. "On 15th August, 1887, invoking the help of God, I became a Muslim. A friend of mine, Abdul Qadir, was with me. Along with me another student of the Arabic Madresah, we reached Kotla Rahem Shah in District Muzafar Shah. On 9th Zilhajj 1304 A.H. I was circumcised. After a few days, as my relatives were annoyed/ we left for Sind, and on the way I learnt Arabic from this student".[3]

The Maulana continues in his autobiographical reminiscences that it was his good luck that in Sind he became a pupil of Hazrat Hafiz Mohamed Sidiq of Barchundi Sheriff, who said in a gathering of his followers, "Obaidullah has left

1. Khitabat Maulana Obaidullah Sindhi: Prof. Mahomed Sarwar, p. 59.
2. Ibid. p. 59.
3. Ibid. p. 59.

his family and his relatives for the sake of Islam. From now on I am his father and his mother". The Maulana became so devoted to Hazrat Barchundi Saheb that "I made Sind my home, or it became my home. I took lessons under Hazrat Saheb in the Qadri Rashdi *tariqa*". In order to prosecute his Islamic studies further, he took leave of Hazrat Saheb. "It was because of his blessings that I became ultimately a pupil of Shaikhul Hind." He began studying Arabic in a mosque situated in the rural area of Bahawalpur. At the age of 17, he enrolled himself as a student in Darul Uloom, Deoband, and there made a deep study of the Quran, Hadith, Philosophy and Logic. "While at Deoband, I saw in my dream a vision of the Holy Prophet and also of Imam Abu Hanifa".[1] At Deoband, the Maulana also studied under Shaikhul Hind and was profoundly impressed by his personality, and that influence on his outlook persisted throughout his life. He completed his course at Deoband, securing a high place in the examination, and with the permission of Shaikh-ul-Hind, he left Deoband for Gangoha to study under Maulana Rashid Ahmad. But his stay at Gangoha was short-lived, as he fell sick and was compelled to go to Delhi for treatment. He had barely recovered from his sickness, when he was stunned to hear of the death of Barchundi Sheriff. He hastened to Barchundi in Sukkur District, reaching that place on the 20th of Jamadi-ul-Sani, 1308 A.H.

While at Sukkur, the Maulana married the daughter of Master Mahomed Azim Khan, a teacher in the Islamia School in that city. The Maulana had sent an invitation to his mother, requesting her to come to Sukkur for the wedding. The mother, aggrieved at long separation from her beloved son, agreed and participated in the happy celebration, and began to stay thereafter with her son, Obaidullah. Even after his marriage, the Maulana continued to look upon himself as a student, visiting most of the famous public and private libraries all over Sind in search of knowledge. Reading extensively, the Maulana was on the way to himself becoming a great *alim*. The writings of Shah Waliullah particularly impressed him, whom he accepted from now on as his Imam,

1. Naqoosh, Apbiti Number, p. 1421.

and the Maulana writes, "And I became capable of understanding the true philosophy of Islam".[1] His habit of extensive reading led him to study the philosophy and political theories of Maulana Ismail Shahid. Revolutionary by nature, the life and teachings of Maulana Ismail Shahid fascinated him, "I took a particular chapter from the writings of Maulana Ismail Shaheed, which was both Islamic and Revolutionary. And I made it the basis of my political life and programme".[2]

He returned to Deoband in 1315 A.H., and started writing articles on Hadith and Fiqah, which were greatly appreciated by the *ulema* teaching theology at Deoband. But he did not stay long at Deoband, as he felt within him a strong urge to return to Sind, which he believed was his real place of work and service. He came back to Amrot, and started collecting rare books and manuscripts in Sindhi and Arabic, hoping to start a school of his own, where he would organise a course of studies and discipline according to his own ideals. Often such dreams of idealists have floundered on the rocks for lack of financial resources, and so was it in the case with Maulana Obaidullah's dream of founding a school after his heart's desire. But by 1319 A.H., Hazrat Maulana Rasdullah Saheb had built a Madresah at Amrot, and Maulana Obaidullah Sindhi taught there for about seven years, at the end of which period he received a summons from Shaikh-ul-Hind Mahmood Hasan Deobandi to return to Deoband. The Maulana obediently responded, and was asked to teach in Jamiat-ul-busar at Deoband. Along with Maulana Mahomed Sadiq Sindhi, he taught there for four years, and his reputation was very high among the students that learnt under him. In 1331 A.H., under the orders of Shaikh-ul Hind, the Maulana was transferred to Delhi, as the former desired that the Maulana should also come into contact with young Muslim intellectuals in Delhi, who were in the forefront of the struggle for Muslim emancipation in India. In Delhi, he made friends with such political stalwarts as Maulana Mahomed Ali, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Dr. Ansari, and Nawab Waqar-ul-Mulk. "This way, I came into close contact with top Muslim political leaders of India".[3]

1. Naqoosh, Apbiti Number, p. 1422.
2. Ibid. p. 1422.
3. Ibid. P. 1423.

The Maulana started religious classes in the Fatehpuri mosque in Delhi, where young Muslims enrolled in large numbers. He also went on disseminating his political views among them. The police, coming to know of this, kept the Maulana under strict watch. On a trumped up charge, the Maulana was arrested and his school was closed.

For over thirty years Maluana Obaidullah Sindhi had spent his days at first in learning and then in teaching various aspects of Islamic theology, and his nights in meditating and planning for the political regeneration of the Muslims of India. He found his country and his co-religionists in a state of unrest and in political ferment, and he read in the papers of conditions bordering on political bondage in so many Muslim countries, Western colonialism being at that time at the zenith of its power. The echoes of his revolutionary ideas had reached the ears of a watchful intelligence force that safeguards the interests of an alien imperialism, and he was already a marked man in the eyes of the police. He was profoundly distressed at the state of affairs in the political life of India, and influenced by such great revolutionary thinkers as Shah Waliullah and Maulana Mohamed Ismail Shaheed, his mind was beginning to dream of a time when the hated foreigner would leave his country for good, so that his countrymen may be enabled to become an independent and sovereign nation. Just when he was trying to chalk out a political path for himself, he received orders from Shaikh-ul-Hind to proceed to Kabul. "I received no instructions as to what was to be my programme of work in Kabul. I was, therefore, not enthusiastic about this order to seek voluntary exile. God, however, made it possible for my way to be cleared of all obstacles, and I was able to leave India and reach Afghanistan. I did not inform my political friends in Delhi of my hasty contemplated visit to Kabul".[1]

From this it is clear that the Maulana was apprehensive that if his intention came to be known to the police, he would be prevented from going to Afghanistan.

Shaikh-ul-Hind seems to have sent secret information of the impending visit of Maulana Obaidullah in advance, with the result that he was well received in Afghanistan. "With

1. Khitabat Maulana Obaidullah Sindhi. Prof. Mahomed Sarwar, p. 68.

the cooperation of the Government of Kabul, I was able to pursue my work that I had left half done in India...... In 1916 I was ordered by Amir Habibullah to carry on my political work in cooperation with the Hindus..... I, therefore, enrolled myself as a member of the All-India National Congress, and became one of its propagandists..... In 1922, during the reign of Amir Amanullah Khan, I set up a branch of the Congress in Kabul, and with the help of Dr. Ansari this branch was affiliated with the Head Office of the All-India National Congress, this decision having been taken at its Gaya session. This was the first branch of the Congress outside the boundaries of the British Empire, and I am proud to say that I was its first President".[1] About a year after setting up a Congress Committee in Kabul, he left for Moscow, where he stayed for seven months. The Government of Russia, knowing of the anti-imperialist attitude of the Maulana, gave him a fitting welcome and provided him with all facilities to study socialism. "It is not true that I met Comrade Lenin at this time. He was so sick that he would not meet even his closest associates........ Although I was under the influence of socialism, it was because of my belief in the teachings of Shah Waliullah that I was able to keep my own political beliefs free from other isms".[2] During his stay in Moscow, he became acquainted with the Turkish Ambassador to Russia and through his good offices, the Maulana received permission to visit Turkey, and secret arrangements were made by the Turkish Government for his journey. "The British intelligence agents could not get any prior information about my impending visit to Turkey".[3] From this it is clear that the Maulana, already considered a dangerous man by the British, was being shadowed by their agents. Away from home, and having incurred the displeasure of the powerful British Government, the Maulana, undaunted, carried on his crusade for the independence of India. Indeed, he lived dangerously throughout his life, and he was quite at home with the danger that surrounded him. The Maulana stayed for three years in Turkey, formulating plans for the freedom of India, and

1. Khitabat Maulana Obaidullah Sindhi, Prof. Mahomed Sarwar, pp. 68-69.
2. Ibid. p. 69.
3. Ibid p. 70.

encouraging the Muslims of other countries to face boldly Western imperialism, which was playing havoc with the sovereignty of Muslim nations.

The world of Islam was in a state of ferment, especially due to the clandestine work of a select band of revolutionaries that secretly spread the gospel of independence from Western colonialism. As an indirect consequence of this, there was to be held in 1344 A.H. a World Muslim Congress in Mecca, where representatives of most Muslim countries were to gather. The Maulana thought it was a good opportunity for him to profit by the experience of other Muslim leaders and to share his experience with them, and so he decided to leave Turkey for Mecca *via* Italy. But now he was being carefully watched by the British Intelligence, and its agents put all sorts of official obstacles in the way of Maulana Obaidullah reaching Mecca in time. Their machinations succeeded, and delay dogged him at every step, as a result of which the Maulana reached Mecca in 1345 A.H., when the Congress had already met and dispersed. But the Maulana met and discussed with such of the Muslim leaders who had prolonged their stay in Mecca and were still there, enabling him thus to widen his contacts with the world of Islam. He utilised his stay in Mecca by visiting the private libraries of some of his friends, and enlarging the scope of his knowledge by systematic studies. Mecca is the centre where Muslims gather from all parts of the world, and this was instrumental in helping Maulana Obaidullah Sindhi to meet many Muslim leaders and learn from them first-hand of the political conditions of the Muslims in their countries.

The Government of India Act, 1935, had been published, and it was expected that for the first time popular ministries would rule the provinces and the centre. There was a spectacular political awakening among the Muslims and the Hindus, and the British were learning their first lessons of being responsive, though tardily, to popular demands. In 1936 the All-India National Congress made an open demand that the ban on the entry of Maulana Obaidullah Sindhi into India should be lifted, a demand that was backed by all. In the beginning of 1937 provincial autonomy had started functioning, and the Governments of some provinces recommended to the British Government to give an Indian passport to

the Maulana, so that he could come back to the country of his birth.The British yielded, haltingly, and on 1st November, 1937, the Maulana was informed that he was now free to come back to India. On 1st January, 1938, he was given an Indian passport. He was already making plans for his political programme and political activities after his return to India. although advanced in years, he was young at heart, and he was visualising a day when India would be free from British domination.

He reached Karachi in March 1939 after an exile of twenty-four years, having left India when he was 43, and returning when he was 67. He lost no time on his return, and political activities once again absorbed him. He started giving lectures, writing magazine articles and books, the sum and substance of which were, "The British do not want that Muslim young men should be taught the dynamic message of Islam. . . . The Muslims must hold fast the rope of God and return to the Holy Prophet of Islam. It is not through material prosperity alone that all our evils and our problems will come to an end".[1] Presiding over the conference of Bengal *ulema* held at Calcutta on 3rd June, 1939, the Maulana said, "I had intended not to return to India, while it was still under British occupation. . . . Since my arrival in India, I have had no rest and I am not in good health. . . . . If we understand well and truly the message of Shah Waliullah, then alone will the *Jamiat-ul-Ulema-e-Hind* be able to propagate revolutionary ideals like Europe has done in the recent past . . . . I want that the standard of living of your peasants and workers should not be lower than that of their counterparts in Europe . . . . . . I want our country to be regarded as a sovereign independent State in the comity of nations". Addressing the open session of the Sind District Congress Committee at Tatta on 12th July, 1940, he said, "I love Sind, which is the country of the birth of my spiritual father. I have made it my home for the last fifty years. . . . You will be surprised to know that a Hindu Pandit taught me Islam. . . . . .When I wrote a letter to Lala Lajpat Rai from Istanbul, he came from the Punjab to meet me in Turkey. . . .After returning from Europe, I find that among the Muslims the Deoband and the Aligarh schools are at daggers drawn with one another. . . . These differences have

1. *Azmat-e-Rafta*: Ziauddin Burney, p. 117.

been widened by the Indian National Congress, instead of diminishing them." Although he was addressing a gathering of Congressmen, yet it was clear that the Maulana was a true Muslim patriot, and he wanted the political emancipation and freedom of the Muslims.

The Maulana had not travelled abroad extensively in vain, nor had the lesson of revolutionary political achievement in Europe been lost on him. His message to Indians was that they should catch up with the West, both in material prosperity and in political freedom that the Europeans enjoyed. He made no secret of his disagreement with Gandhi on many issues of fundamental importance. "Gandhiji wongly believes that he can take India back thousands of years. He forgets that there lives in India since the last 800 years another nation, with another language, a new culture, a new way of thinking, and this nation has as much right in India as the nation of Gandhiji has."[1] The Maulana had now started a new political party, known as Jumna, Narbada, Sind Sagar Party, with offices at Karachi, Lahore and Delhi. One of the aims of the Party was "My programme is not for the day alone. It is a long-term programme.... India should not be considered as one country, but, like Europe, it should be divided on linguistic and cultural lines". He gave to the party a very elaborate and progressive socio-economic programme, but he had left his most active days far behind. He was almost sick and bedridden. An active and dynamic life that is necessary to make a political party find firm roots was not possible for him at that period of his life.

On one of his visits to Karachi, the Maulana was staying at the Royal Hotel on MacLeod Road. Mahomed Amin Khosa, a friend of mine, and a member of the Sind Legislative Assembly, often took me to meet the Maulana in his hotel. I invariably found the Maulana lying in bed, while we youngsters sat on chairs nearby. As I looked upon his wrinkled face, which was often in agony due to physical pain, I felt as if I was in the presence of a precious relic of an ancient age. He had a dominating attitude in his conversation with others, giving one the impression that he thought he had scaled the highest peaks of experience and, therefore, what

1. Maulana Obaidullah Sindhi Aur Unke Naqad: Maulana Sayed Ahmed Akbarabadi, p. 43.

he said must be believed and accepted as the one and only solution to a given problem. Once I had the audacity to differ from an opinion expressed by the Maulana on a topical political issue. The Maulana lost his patience, his anger was roused, and his feeble voice gathered strength and he thundered, "What do you boys know. Listen to people like us, who have greyed our hair in the heat of political battles". There was no room left for any more arguments thereafter. I found that the Maulana had the habit of suddenly quoting from Shah Waliullah. "There are two central figures in the Russian Revolution, Karl Marx and Lenin. For the Revolution that I have in mind, I have also studied the lives and teachings of two personalities, Imam Waliullah and Imam Mahomed Qasim.... Revolution does not triumph in one day. It is a continuous process.... Hazrat Maulana Shaikh-ul-Hind has explained that Jihad is Revolution...... I have found a Party to carry on Jihad, a war of liberation.... At Deoband we taught students the message of Jehad." His body had been weakened by age, but his mind was alert, only it sometimes rambled from one subject to another. Here was an Indian revolutionary whom Jawaharlal Nehru has praised so much in his autobiography, an Indian revolutionary who had been for the longest time in exile.

The Maulana was on a tour of Sind, and he was addressing a conference of Sind Muslim students. During the course of this address he said, "At this time I want to tell the students to learn English and Western science and knowledge, so that you come to know of the type of revolution that is going on in Europe. You must get ready for a similar revolution in India". In the midst of his address, he felt weak and giddy. But undaunted by physical weakness, he managed to read out his full address. He was advised complete rest, which advice he disdainfully rejected. There was so much work to do, and how could he rest? Accompanied by a friend, he undertook an extensive tour of Sind meeting and lecturing gatherings of students. His friend watched with undisguised anxiety the fast deteriorating condition of the Maulana's health, as he saw him grow weaker and weaker every day. His friend advised him to stop his tour, and to return to Karachi for treatment. At first the Maulana refused, but ultimately he was persuaded

to come back to Karachi, so that his health could be looked after by competent doctors. The doctors were rather pessimistic about his complete recovery. The Maulana was often in a state of unconsciousness, but when he returned to consciousness, he would fumble for words about the address that he had promised to give to a gathering of students at Shahdadkot on 4th August, 1944, when he was also to perform the opening ceremony of a Madressah. He would also frequently ask for the train timings from Karachi to Shahdadkot. Towards the end of July, his health showed signs of considerable improvement, and he would sit up in bed, for long spells. He started writing his presidential address, which he sent through a student to be read at the opening ceremony of Mahomed Qasim Waliullah Theological School at Shahdadkot in Larkana District. In the course of his address, he traced the history of the rise and fall of the Moghul empire, and said that no emperor in India had made an impact on international affairs during his time. "As against this, from the days of Napolean, Europe made its national culture into an international one. Delhi came to be defeated by Europe."

The Maulana was touring Sind once again, and the oppressive heat of the summer, coupled with the poor state of his health, confined him to bed. The doctors were in attendance. It was obvious even the Maulana realised that his end was near. He expressed a wish that he should be taken to Pir Jhande Jo Goth, a place which had much spiritual significance for him. But his daughter and grand-daughter were frantically pleading that he should go for treatment and rest at Dinpur in Bahawalpur District. The Maulana reluctantly agreed to comply with the wishes of the only two close surviving members of his family. There he breathed his last on 22nd August, 1944.

ALLAMA IQBAL

(1873—1938)

Hard is the lot of the active political reformer, whose soul revolts against the *status quo*. He would like to demolish it and build a better order in its place. Harder is the lot of the political thinker, who visualises with his inner eye that what *can be* is far superior to that which *is*. Iqbal passed his life under this twofold handicap, for he was both a great political philosopher, and an active political leader. But the soothing balm of poetry came to his solace, through which he poured out his heart, conveying his message of what should be to his fellowmen. He was fully convinced that the foreign rulers through soporific sops had lulled the Indians into complacency. He, therefore, bemoaned in one of his couplets :—

> When a subject nation is roused from sleep,
> The magic wand of authority
> Makes it once again quiet keep.

He continued to serve his people through the gossamer voice of his poetry, through the enchanting and dynamic political ideologies that he propounded in his philosophy, and through his sagacious leadership on the battlefield of active politics. There were times, when he was pessimistic, despairing of the success by his people during his lifetime. Once, while in such a mood, he sang :—

> Of Today's ear I have no need;
> Voice of the Poet of Tomorrow
> I am indeed.

It is of the nature of the nightingale to continue to sing, whether people hear her song or not. Iqbal was gifted with

the capacity of showing the path to his people—from national slavery to freedom; from bondage of the self to its utter and unlimited liberation. "Iqbal might be summed up as, in the broadest sense, a political poet, one concerned with men as social beings .... It was because he grappled with the great questions of his world that he has a place in the history of twentieth-century Asia."[1]

This great poet, philosopher and political leader was born on 22nd February, 1873, in Sialkot in the Punjab. He was descended from a family of Kashmiri Brahmins, who had embraced Islam about three hundred years earlier. Iqbal has referred to his being a descendant of a Brahmin family in some of his verses.

Look at me !
In Hind you will no more see
A scion of a Brahmin family
Well versed in mystic lore
Of Rum and Tabriz of yore.

Iqbal's first education was in the traditional *Muktab*. One of his teachers at Sialkot was the famous scholar, Shamsul Ulema Mir Hasan, who, recognising the undoubted talents of Iqbal, gave him every possible encouragement which Iqbal has gratefully acknowledged in some of his verses. Although still a school student, Iqbal began to compose poems to the delight of Mir Hasan. At this time, the great poet Dagh was the doyen of Urdu poets, and young Iqbal sent his poems to the great master for his opinion and correction. Often Dagh encouraged the young and enthusiastic poet by writing back to say his poem was so perfect that it needed no correction. After completing his education at the *Muktab*, Iqbal joined the Sialkot Mission School, from where he passed his matriculation examination. He proceeded to Lahore for higher studies, and joined the Government College in that city to secure his Bachelor of Arts Degree, which he was able to obtain in 1897. Two years later, he secured his Master's Degree, and was appointed in the Oriental College, Lahore, as a lecturer in History, Philosophy and English. During his college days,

1. Poems From Iqbal. V. G. Kiernan. pp. xiii & xiv.

Iqbal continued his boyhood hobby of writing poetry, and he seemed to have caught the eye and ear of many connoisseurs as a young poet of great promise. "About two or three years prior to 1901, I had seen Iqbal participate in a Mushaira in Lahore. He was brought to the Mushaira by some of his friends, who forced him to recite one of his *ghazals*. At that time the general public of Lahore was not acquainted with the poetry of Iqbal."[1] Anjuman Himayat-ul-Islam had been doing excellent work in the field of educational and social service, and its annual meetings were an important date in the social calendar of Lahore city. It is on record that when the annual meeting of the Anjuman took place in 1899, Iqbal recited a poem *Nala-e-Yatim*, which was greatly appreciated for its depth of feeling and for its topical nature. After that year, it became a standing feature at the annual meetings of the Anjuman that Iqbal would recite a poem, especially composed for the occasion.[2]

During this period of his life, Iqbal came to be greatly influenced by Sir Thomas Arnold, who was the first to introduce him "to all that is best and noblest in Western thought, and at the same time initiated him into modern methods of criticism."[3] The imagery of his poetry was becoming more and more vivid, and its thought-content more and more sublime. He wrote to a friend in 1903 that he was "yearning to write in the manner of Milton (*Paradise Lost*, etc)...... I have been nurturing this wish for the past five or six years, but the creative pangs have never been so acute as now." He continued to work as lecturer in the Oriental College, Lahore, from 1899 to 1905, and in the latter year, under the advice of Sir Thomas Arnold, he proceeded to Europe for higher studies. He left Lahore for Bombay *via* Delhi, where he went to pay his homage at the tombs of the two great poets—Amir Khusro and Ghalib. During his stay of three years in Europe, Iqbal met and held discussions with leading savants of Europe and read avidly European literature in English and German. These years had a profound influence on his thinking. "He conceived an utter dislike for the narrow and selfish nationalism which

1. Sir Abdul Quadir.
2. Iqbal. Nae-Rang-e-Khayal.
3. Iqbal : His Art & Thought: Syed Abdul Vahid, p. 7.

was the root-cause of most political troubles in Europe, and his admiration for a life of action and struggle became more pronounced."[1] Having obtained a degree at Cambridge, he later secured his doctorate at Munich, and finally he was able to qualify as a barrister. London University invited him to teach Arabic, which appointment he accepted for six months. He had won for himself a well earned reputation as a profound oriental philosopher, and he was invited to deliver a number of lectures at Caxton Hall in London.

When Iqbal returned to Lahore in 1908, many offers came pouring in from a number of colleges, but he finally decided to work as part-time Professor of Philosophy and English literature at the Government College, being given the liberty of continuing his private practice as a barrister. While working as a professor and practising law, Iqbal continued to write poetry, and it was obvious that his deep inner vision of the purpose of Man on this earth was undergoing a revolutionary metamorphosis:

> For the candle to throb alone is not easy;
> Of me is there no moth worthy?

He found that professorship in a Government College indirectly hampered the propagation of his individual thinking and in the deliverance of his own message to the Muslims, which was in the process of formulation in his poetic mind. Somewhere in 1911, he is said to have told his trusted attendant, "Ali Baksh, I have a message for my people, and it cannot be conveyed if I remained in Government service. So I have resigned the service, and I hope that I will be able to carry out my wish now."[2] After resigning his professorship at the College, the Government of the Punjab offered him a high post in the Education Department but, determined not to be burdened with the crippling restrictions of Government service, he refused it with thanks, his only source of income being his practice at the bar.[3]

Allama Iqbal took his first important step in the realm of politics when, during his stay in England, he became an active

1. Iqbal: His Art & Thought: Syed Abdul Vahid, p. 8.
2. Ibid. p. 4.
3. Iqbal Ka Siyasi Karnama. Mahomed Ahmed Khan. p. 28.

member of the British Committee of the All-India Muslim League, started by Syed Ameer Ali. When in 1906, this Committee was active in making British public opinion and political leaders accept the principle of separate electorates for the Muslims of India, Iqbal was one of the staunch supporters of the Committee.[1] When he returned to Lahore, he found that the provincial branch of the Muslim League was already functioning, with Maulvi Shahdin as its President and Sir Mohammad Shafi as its Secretary. Iqbal immediately became a member of the League, and was always active in its deliberations.[2] His increasing interest in politics is evident from a letter he wrote on 14th December, 1911, to Atiya Begum Faizee, expressing his views on the partition of Bengal, making it quite clear that his sympathies and support were for the Muslims of Bengal.[3]

In the meantime Iqbal's reputation as a poet stood very high, and poetry poured forth from his pen like the waters of Niagra Falls. He was knighted in the year 1922, and according to Sir Abdul Qadir there is an interesting story connected with it. An eminent Englishman was the guest of the Governor of the Punjab at the Government House, who had heard of the reputation of Iqbal as a great poet. The Governor invited Iqbal to Government House, where the guest met the Poet of the East. He was so profoundly impressed with his deep erudition, with the maturity of his thought, and his poetic excellence, that when Iqbal left Government House, the guest complained to the Governor it was a pity that such an undoubtedly gifted man had not been conferred a knighthood by the British. The Governor promised to do the needful and Iqbal became a knight in the next honours list.[4]

He received some cases outside Lahore in his capacity as a barrister, and he was, therefore, occasionally travelling in the Punjab and beyond. Invariably he would take a holiday every year and visit Kashmir or some hill station. By 1928 his reputation as a great Muslim philosopher was solidly established, and he was invited to deliver lectures at Hyderabad, Aligarh and Madras. This series of lectures were later on published

1. Iqbal Ka Siyasi Karnama: Mahomed Ahmed Khan. p. 35.
2. Ibid. p. 55.
3. Ibid. p. 60.
4. Based on an account in The Great Men of India: Sir Abdul Quadir.

as a book, "The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam". In 1931 and 1932, he visited Europe and met many Western scholars and thinkers, the most notable among whom was Henri Bergson. He also vent to Spain, with the specific purpose of visiting those places which were a reminder of the glorious period of Moor history in Spain. He also attended an Islamic Conference at Jerusalem.

During the elections of 1927 to the Punjab Legislative Assembly, Allama Iqbal offered himself as a candidate and was duly elected to the Assembly. Taking part in the general discussion on the Budget on 5th March, 1927, Iqbal pleaded for more provision for rural sanitation and for the medical relief of women. "Crowns come and go; the people alone are immortal."[1] Speaking on a cut motion under the demand for education on 10th March, 1927, Iqbal said, "Can anybody deny in this House or outside this House that mass education is absolutely essential in the interest of the people ?" In July, 1927, there were communal riots in the Punjab, and they formed the subject matter of an adjournment motion. Iqbal severely condemned communal riots and said, "Some of the members are of the opinion that the gutter press of the Province is responsible for the existing state of affairs, while others are of the opinion that the struggle for votes and posts is responsible for it." Speaking about a meeting of citizens convened to help restore amity between Hindus and Muslims, which he had attended, Iqbal said, "In this meeting I suggested that in order to evaluate the spirit of mutual hatred it behoves the committee to appoint a number of such sub-committees, whose business it should be to go about different parts of the city and impress upon the people the futility of mutual warfare.... I support Chaudhry Zafarullah Khan from the bottom of my heart that a round table conference should be held at the earliest possible moment in which Government should also be asked to participate." Iqbal was a great champion of adequate representation to Muslims in Government service. Speaking on a motion to fill Government posts by open competition, he said on 19th July, 1927, "However, I will tell you that the state of this country is such

1. Speeches and Statements of Iqbal: Shamloo, p. 63.

that it is not possible for us to introduce the principle of competition pure and simple. The best method for the country is.....the principle of competition tempered by selection and nomination." In his budget speech on 4th March, 1929, he once again condemned the Government for making inadequate provision for education. "The state of things so far as education is concerned is very disappointing. I am going to say, awful." He deplored that schools of Muslims, who were backward in education, were receiving only 23 per cent of the grants under this head. "This state of affairs cannot be regarded as satisfactory... Money spent on education must be spent carefully and must be distributed equally, especially in places where people are backward and too poor to pay for education." Speaking in the general discussion on the Budget, on 7th March, 1930, Iqbal dwelt at great length on the alarming economic situation in the Punjab, and the disastrous consequences that were sure to follow. "The province is already in debt. The problem of unemployment is becoming more and more acute every day. Trade is at a low ebb. You can easily imagine what the financial future of the province is likely to be....We spend practically nothing on industry... Industrial development alone can save us from the curse of unemployment."

While Allama Iqbal was a member of the Punjab Legislative Assembly, he was elected Secretary of the All-India Muslim League. On 3rd February, 1928, the Simon Commission landed at Bombay, in order to ascertain the views of political leaders and parties as to the future reforms in the Indian Constitution. The Muslim League met in order to consider its attitude to the proposals of the Simon Commission. It would appear there were acute differences in the meetings of the Working Committee of the League between Allama Iqbal and the majority of the members. The resolution that the Working Committee ultimately adopted on the Simon Commission went contrary to his views. Therefore, Iqbal wrote a letter of resignation on 24th June, 1928, resigning from the post of secretaryship of the Muslim League. "As you know I have been suffering from a slight indisposition since the middle of May last and had gone recently to Delhi for treatment.....I had unfortunately fallen ill and was for this reason unable to

attend the discussion of the final draft. I now find that the extract of the League memorandum as published in the Press makes no demand for full provincial autonomy and suggests a unitary form of Government in which law, order and justice should be placed under the direct charge of the Governor.... This suggestion.... means no constitutional advance at all.... Since I still stick to my opinion...... I ought not to in the circumstances remain Secretary of the All-India Muslim League. Kindly accept my resignation."

He could not conscientiously differ from the Working Committee on a vital issue, and yet continue to be its secretary. Nonetheless, he continued to remain loyal to the ideology and principles of the All-India Muslim League, and in 1930 he was invited to preside over the open session of the League at Allahabad. The speech that he delivered on that occasion constitutes a milestone in our struggle for freedom and has come to assume a tremendous historical importance. In this presidential address, we glimpse for the first time the final goal of the Muslims of this subcontinent, towards which they had been unconsciously striving for a long time. Iqbal said, "To base a constitution on the conception of a homogeneous India, or apply to India the principles dictated by British democratic sentiments is unwittingly to prepare her for a civil war ....The formation of a consolidated North-West Muslim Indian State appears to be the final destiny of Muslims, at least of North-West India...... I, therefore, demand the formation of a consolidated Muslim State in the best interests of India and Islam." The clarion call for a separate homeland for the Muslims of India had been sounded by Iqbal, and the Muslims of the subcontinent began to bestir themselves and to enthusiastically respond to his call.

Allama Iqbal went to England in November, 1931, as a delegate to the Second Round Table Conference, in which he played an important role, both as an advocate of the rights of the Muslims, as also of India's demand for an a dvance in constitutional reforms. "I have met in London some Indians who were staying there for the last thirty to thirtyfive years. I have heard from some of them, that at that time some Muslims formed an Iqbal Association in London, under whose auspices a grand reception was held in honour of Iqbal. Many

leading literary figures of England and important Indian leaders were present at this gathering, and Mr. Jinnah in his speech on this occasion paid very high tributes to Dr. Iqbal."[1] In 1932, Allama Iqbal once again came to England as a delegate to the Third Round Table Conference. At this time, Quaid-e-Azam was in England, and had given up active participation in Indian politics. The two often met, and Allama Iqbal, having observed developments during the discussions at the Conference, was pessimistic about the outcome of the deliberations. "It seems likely that Quaid-e-Azam and Dr. Iqbal felt they were in agreement with the conclusion that the Round Table Conferences were not to prove as conducive to Muslim *interests as it had been originally anticipated.*"[2] On his return, Allama Iqbal presided over the All-India Muslim Conference in 1932, and during his presidential address he said he was opposed to nationalism as understood in Europe, as in it there were the germs of atheistic materialism. What really mattered was man's faith, his culture, his historical traditions. "These are the things, which in my eyes, are worth living for and dying for, and not the piece of earth with which the spirit of man happens to be temporarily associated." In the absence of an agreed formula on the minority problem, His Majesty's Government was to announce the Communal Award. It was rumoured that differences had arisen among the leaders of the Muslim Conference. On 25th July, 1932, Allama Iqbal issued a statement, "There is no real split as far as the present Muslim attitude towards the announcement of the communal decision is concerned.... Since the British Government had undertaken to decide the communal problem—practically at the request of the Indian communities—we must wait till that decision." When the Communal Award was announced, Allama Iqbal issued a statement on 24th August, 1932, "I honestly believe that no community has a more genuine grievance against the decision than Muslims. Indeed, I cannot explain to myself how the British conscience has tolerated this injustice."

When the White Paper was issued by the British Government, Allama Iqbal in a press statement on 20th March, 1933,

1. Iqbal Ke Akhri Do Sal: Dr. Ashiq Husain Batalvi, p. 309
2. Ibid, p. 310.

said, "Muslims would be greatly disappointed by the proposed composition of the Federal Legislature. Under the new scheme ministers in the provinces will be as little responsible to the legislature and as much responsible to the Governor as they are now. The special responsibilities of Governors cover a very wide field."

In the meantime the anti-Muslim policy of the Government of Kashmir had brought in its wake untold hardships for the Muslims of Kashmir. Allama Iqbal issued a statement on 7th June, 1933, condemning the Government of Kashmir for its anti-Muslim attitude. "I hold no brief for any of the political parties in Kashmir. But the arrests of the leaders of the two parties and subsequent flogging of people and firing and lathi-charges on women and children are likely to plunge Kashmir into the same conditions from which it was rescued by Col. Colvin's policy. I hope the Kashmir Government will try to discover the psychological background of the present unrests and adopt an attitude which may bring peace and goodwill." On 20th June, 1933, he resigned his office as president of the All-India Kashmir Committee. But even thereafter he continued to take a keen interest in furthering the cause of the Muslims of Kashmir.

The Quaid-e-Azam, realising that the Punjab was the crucial province in the fight of the Muslims for their ultimate destiny, visited Lahore in April 1936. "When Mr. Jinnah came to see Doctor Saheb at the latter's house.... Doctor Saheb was the President of the Provincial Muslim League. Therefore, when Mr. Jinnah discussed the subject of setting up a Parliamentary Board to fight the elections, Doctor Saheb immediately and wholeheartedly pledged his support to the idea." This meeting was spotlighted in an article in *The Truth*, a magazine edited by Fazle Karim Durrani. In it are described the different types of clothes in which the two great leaders were attired at that time—Quaid-e-Azam in a smart European-cut suit and Allama Iqbal in a simple *kurta*. The latter informed the Quaid, "If you are seeking the *Talukdars* of Oudh or the millionaires of Bombay, then you will not find them in my Punjab. I only promise you the support of the masses." Quaid-e-Azam enthusiastically replied, "I only need the help of the people."[1]

1. The Truth: Edited by Fazle Karim Durrani.

At that time Allama Iqbal was the President of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League.[1]

In May 1936 the Quaid-e-Azam was on a political mission in the Punjab. On 8th May, 1936, Allama Iqbal, along with Malik Barkat Ali, Khalifa Shujauddin, Ghulam Rasool Khan and Pir Tajuddin issued a press statement saying that the press propaganda that the Muslims of the Punjab were not with Quaid-e-Azam was nothing but a lie; the masses were with him and with the League. "The truth is that our community has such great confidence in the honesty and sagacity of Mr. Jinnah that with one voice they have welcomed the clarion call sounded by Mr. Jinnah..... We assure him that we shall wholeheartedly support him."[2] On the same day, a meeting of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League was convened, with Allama Iqbal in the chair, in which he was once again elected President of the re-organised League. After a brief stay in Lahore, Quaid-e-Azam proceeded to Rawalpindi, and then to Srinagar, from where he announced on 21st May, 1936, the list of names of the Central Parliamentary Board. Of course, Allama Iqbal's name was first on the list of representatives from the Punjab.

Mian Fazl-e-Husain was far too committed to support the Unionist Party, consisting of both Hindus and Muslims. The Unionist Party was at that time more powerful than the Muslim League, but Allama Iqbal continued to bear on his massive shoulders the burden of popularising the Muslim League in the Punjab at that difficult and decisive time in its history.

The meetings of the Central Parliamentary Board and of the Council of the League were to be held in Lahore on 8th June, 1936. The Quaid was to attend these meetings. Rumours were afloat that the Unionists wanted to arrange a black flag demonstration, when the Quaid was to arrive in Lahore for the meetings. At this time, Allama Iqbal was in a bad state of health. In spite of his ill-health, he was doing his best to see that the two meetings became a great success. Disturbed at the rumours regarding the black flag demonstrations, Allama Iqbal sent Malik Lal Din as his personal emissary to important

1. Iqbal Ke Akhri Do Sal: Dr. Ashiq Husain Batalvi, p. 310.
2. Civil & Military Gazette.

Unionist leaders that if they arranged any such demonstrations, the consequences thereof would be bad for the Unionists themselves. On his intercession, the Unionists gave up the idea of staging a hostile demonstration on Quaid-e-Azam's arrival in Lahore.[1] Lahore was in the grip of a heat wave and it was decided to hold these meetings in the Islamia College, where the delegates could get some relief due to the electric fans that were installed there. The Islamia College was being run by the Anjuman Himayatul Islam, and Nawab Muzaffar Khan, a leading Unionist, refused permission although Allama Iqbal had sent to him a personal request in this regard.[2]

In the absence of the Quaid from the Punjab political scene, Allama Iqbal kept the Quaid informed through letters about the state of affairs in the Punjab, and his personal views on political problems of an all-India nature. These letters are dated from June 1936 to Novemember 1937 and they now form important historic documents concerning our struggle for freedom. Unfortunately, however, the replies of Quaid-e-Azam to Allama Iqbal have not so far been traced, and our history is, therefore, all the poorer for it. These letters of Allama Iqbal reveal how close the two great leaders stood to one another, and that there was complete unanimity between the two on the ultimate goal and destiny of the Muslims of the subcontinent.

His will to serve his people was growing every day, but his physical powers were rapidly declining. His eyesight was getting worse, and he wrote to the Quaid on 20th March, 1937, "Please excuse me. I have got this letter written by a friend as my eyesight is getting bad." By the middle of March 1938, his sickness took a turn for the worse. He was now in the hands of his doctors, who did all they could to prolong such a precious life. But the end came in the early hours of the morning of 21st April, 1938. A great Muslim, a poet, a philosopher, and a champion of the rights of the Muslims had passed away, leaving behind him a rich legacy for posterity. He lies buried in the Badshahi Mosque in Lahore, where a grateful nation continues to place at his feet flowers of homage and to shed a tear of gratitude.

1. Iqbal Ke Akhri Do Sal: Dr. Ashiq Husain Batalvi, pp. 318-319.
2. Ibid. pp. 319-320.

"Iqbal hated injustice; his protest, first made in the name of India, continued in the name of Islam; in this form it was reinforced, rather than superseded, by a protest in the name of the common man, the disinherited of all lands...... He was himself a part of a great historical process, the revolt of Asia."[1]

1. Poems From Iqbal, V. G. Kiernan, pp. xix, xx.

A. K. FAZLUL HAQ

(1873—1962)

"Mr. A. K. Fazlul Haq was one such person. He was in the forefront of all Political activities of our country for more than half a century, and made valuable contribution towards political, social, and educational uplift of the Muslims of the subcontinent. He attained a greatness by a long life of service to the community and the people. He was a legend in his own lifetime, and an inspiration to millions of his countrymen. He who lives in the hearts of men cannot die. In an era of giants who moulded the destinies of millions he strode the earth like a colossus. He was warm and amiable and easily accessible. He rendered services out of the spontaneous generosity of his heart and a magnanimity of disposition that sometimes exceeded the bounds of prudence."[1] A fitting tribute to one who has done so much for the Muslims of Bengal, for the Muslims of this subcontinent, for the independence of India, and for the establishment of Pakistan. His was a life, rich in years, rich in achievement, rich in service. Millions, whose minds and hearts he swayed by his brilliant oratory, shouted, "Sher-e-Bengal, Zindabad," as he addressed countless political meetings all over India.

Chakir is a small but exquisitely beautiful village, about fifteen miles from Barisal in East Pakistan. There lived Syed Fazar Ali, respected both for his learning and for his social status in the village community. Kazi Akram Ali, born around 1820, was the son of Kazi Muhammad Amin, through Fatima Khatun, descended from the well known family of Syed Fazar Ali of Chakar. This Sayed family was connected by marriage to the family of Agha Baker Khan, after whom the district of Bakerganj has been named.

1. A.K. Fazlul Haq: A. S. M. Abdur Rab

When Kazi Muhammad Amin died, his son, Kazi Akram Ali, was in his infancy, and the uncles of the orphaned boy plotted to deprive Kazi Akram Ali of his ancestral estates and properties. As chance would have it, when Kazi Akram Ali was yet in his teens, his boy-servant died of a snake-bite, while working in the fields, and this made the conspiring uncles concoct a story that in actual fact the boy-servant had been murdered by Kazi Akram Ali. The charge was adjudged false, and Kazi Akram Ali devoted himself to passing his Mukhtiarkar Examination, which he did, and joined the Barisal Bar. His rise to eminence as a lawyer was instantaneous. The money that he easily made at the Bar, he generously spent in charities, helping the poor, the needy and the orphans. He married Zinutunissa, daughter of Mir Imdad Ali of Chakar, and in this family was born Mohamed Wazed in the year 1843. Wazed turned out to be a remarkedy talented scholar, passing his Entrance Examination in 1864 from the Barisal Zilla School, and two years later passing his F.A. examination from the Presidency College. He received his Bachelor of Arts degree in 1869; two years later he obtained his Law Degree from the Calcutta University, and immediately joined the Bar. There had been only two Muslim graduates before him from the whole of Bengal. Mohamed Wazed soon established a lucrative legal practice, and was married to Saidunnissa, daughter of Maulvi Ahmed Ali of Saturia, Barisal, A few years later in this family was born in Saturia a boy, to be exact on 26th October, 1873, whom they named Fazlul Haq. After the birth of his son, Wazed decided to wind up his legal practice in Calcutta and to start it in Barisal. He soon came to be ranked among the top lawyers of the Barisal Bar, and the Government appointed him Senior Government Pleader. Mohamed Wazed began to take interest in politics, and was elected Vice-chairman of Bakerganj District Board and President of the Barisal Local Board. A promising life was untimely cut short, when Mohamed Wazed died suddenly on 9th February, 1901; his son Fazlul Haq was then twentyeight.

The parents of Fazlul Haq were particular that their son should receive a sound Islamic education at home, and so they engaged well known scholars, notably Himayat Husain Choudhery and Maulana Kashgir, from whom he learnt the

Holy Quran, Arabic and Persian. Having completed his elementary and religious education under private teachers, Fazlul Haq joined the Barisal Zilla School. Early in his career at school, he proved to be a brilliant boy, especially good in declamation. He passed all his examinations as easily as an experienced athlete clears obstacles in a hurdle-race. At the age of fourteen, he passed his Entrance Examination, securing first division. In the following year, 1883, he stood first in the Dacca Division in his F.A. examination from Presidency College, Calcutta. A few years later, he passed his B.A., securing honours in Physics, Chemistry and Mathematics. Passing his M.A. with distinction, he was appointed an examiner in Mathematics by the Calcutta University. Finally he passed, again with distinction, his Law Degree from the University Law College, Calcutta. Fazlul Haq was not only first class in his studies, but he was also a well known sportsman, being a fine football, cricket and chess player. An excellent swimmer, he won many prizes in his College. It was his inborn love of sports that was responsible for his becoming the Founder-President of the famous Calcutta Mohammadan Sporting Club. In 1900, he was enrolled as an advocate in the Calcutta High Court. It is said that his father, Mohamed Wazid, an eminent lawyer, had refused the brief of a murder case, as he found it to be hopelessly bad. When the accused preferred an appeal against their conviction, they engaged Fazlul Haq to plead the case before the High Court. He was successful in getting them acquitted, on which his father sent to him a letter of appreciation, congratulating him on a brilliant performance.

His father had left behind him rich lands and properties, and after his death Maulvi Fazlul Haq started his legal practice in Barisal. He soon found that the main cause of the backwardness of the Muslims of Bengal was lack of education among them, and from now on he dedicated his whole life to their education and political advancement. He started a magazine, "Balak", and later on another one entitled, "Bharat Suhrid". His presence was being felt in the political life of Barisal, and he was elected a member of the Bakerganj District Board and soon thereafter a Commissioner of the Barisal Municipality.

A little before joining the Calcutta Bar, Fazlul Haq married

Khurshid Talat Begum, a daughter of Nawab Syed Mohamed Azam Khan. Her younger brother, Syed Husain, was for some time private secretary to Pandit Motilal Nehru. He was also for some time Editor of the Bombay Chronicle, and then became a Professor at California University. "At a later stage of his life Fazlul Haq had no good relations with his wife, Khurshid Begum. She filed a case against Fazlul Haq and obtained a decree for a maintenance allowance of Rs. 500 per month, along with (a decree) of separate residence. Fazlul Haq's house at 88/2 Jhowtala Road was assigned to his wife, while he himself shifted to 144-A New Park Street."[1] He was then married to Janatunissa Begum, but she died, and her marriage was not blessed with any children. "Later on he married Khadija Begum, a lady of aristocratic origin from Meerutt City in 1941, when he was Prime Minister of Bengal. God blessed him with a male child..... This lady is the only surviving widow of the departed leader and is the mother of his only son Faizul Haq."[2]

In December, 1906, the annual session of the Mohammadan Educational Conference was convened at Dacca, prominent among those who attended it were H. H. The Aga Khan, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Maulana Mohammad Ali, Maulana Shaukat Ali, Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, Nawab Viqar-ul Mulk, and Maulana Hasrat Mohani. As it was being held in Dacca, Nawab Salimullah Khan had been requested to make all the arrangements to make the conference a success. The Nawab Saheb asked for young and educated and enthusiastic Muslims to offer their services. Among those recruited for this work, Maulvi Fazlul Haq proved to be the most enthusiastic. He proved his abilities as an experienced organiser at that young age when he was slowly rising to fame as a lawyer and as a young political leader. The Aga Khan presided over the conference, and this conference in fact laid the foundation of the All-India Muslim League, which came into being a few months later. A committee of four was appointed to form its constitution, and Fazlul Haq was one of the Joint Secretaries of the drafting committee.[3] "Subsequently

1. A. K. Fazlul Haq: A. S M. Abdur Rab, p. 9.
2. Ibid. p. 9.
3. Ibid. p. 11.

Fazlul Haq drafted the constitution along with Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk and placed it before a representative meeting of the Indian Muslims who unanimously approved and adopted the same."[1]

At about this time, Maulvi Fazlul Haq accepted the post of Deputy Magistrate, his first appointment being at Dacca. His next appointment was at Jamalpur, where due to tension between the two communities, Hindu-Muslim riots broke out in all their fury. Fazlul Haq, unafraid of the risks involved, moved about on the streets, pacifying Hindus and Muslims, and it was mainly due to his efforts that communal harmony was soon restored. His following appointment was at Madaripur, when he came to be appointed Assistant Registrar of Cooperative Societies. When the post of the Registrar of this department fell vacant, the claim of Fazlul Haq was ignored and a Hindu officer was given this post, to the great chagrin of Maulvi Fazlul Haq. This personal grievance, in addition to his keen desire to respond to a public call to work against the annulment of the Partition of Bengal, compelled him to resign from Government service and to rejoin the High Court Bar at Calcutta. "Fazlul Haq's rise as a lawyer was meteoric."[2] He was slowly, but surely, rising like a coming Titan of the Bar as well as of Muslim public life. The Muslims of Calcutta, under the leadership of Maulana Akram Khan and Sirajul Islam, arranged a public reception for Maulvi Fazlul Haq, where fulsome tributes were paid to him for what he had done for the Muslims of Bengal. At this meeting, he pledged that he would spend his whole life in the service of the Muslims of India.

There occurred a vacancy in the Bengal Provincial Council from Dacca Division in 1913. The right of vote was not universal, but was based on property qualification and, therefore, the majority of the voters were Hindu. Already a powerful Hindu leader, Kumar Mahendra Nath Mitra, was in the field, and Fazlul Haq, with his usual abandon, entered the fray as an independent candidate, although the odds were heavily loaded against him. He worked tirelessly, frequently toured the Division, and swayed his listeners with the sheer brilliance of

1. A.K. Fazlul Haq: A. S. M. Abdur Rab. p. 11.
2. Ibid p. 13.

his oratory. There was a ring of sincerity and selflessness in the speeches that he made before his voters, and they enabled him to win an easy victory over his powerful Hindu rival. His maiden speech in the Council was in the general discussion on the Budget. During the course of his speech, he said, "It seems to me that officials make a very fundamental mistake with regard to the claims of the Mohammadans on the Government, whether it be the question of State patronage, grant of political right, or privileges, or expenditure from provincial revenue for promoting Mohammadan education, or other matters of special interest to the community.....If the officials will not meet the demand in full, there is certain to be discontentment in the community, whether the discontent would be worth the consideration of the Government is a different question." Pleading for the educational advancement of the Muslims of Bengal, he said, "Not only is the Mohammadan College at Dacca a stern necessity and an act of bare justice to our community, but I maintain that the time has come for the establishment of a first grade college of Arts for the Mohammadans in Calcutta.....That there is an urgent need for increased hostel accommodation for Mohammadan students is universally accepted.....The provision for the teaching of Arabic and Persian in Government aided schools is hopelessly inadequate."[1]

When the elections to the Bengal Provincial Muslim League were held in 1913, Nawab Salimullah was elected President and Fazlul Haq General Secretary. "Sir Salimullah breathed his last in Calcutta in the early part of 1914, leaving behind Fazlul Haq as his political heir and the natural leader of the Muslims of Bengal."[1] He was a man of wide human sympathies. Although the Muslim League at that time was mainly concerned with safeguarding the political interests of the Muslims of India, Fazlul Haq started on his own a well organised peasant movement in 1915. Even while canvassing support for his election to the Council in 1913, he had said that he completely identified himself with the interests of the downtrodded peasants of Bengal and that he would work fearlessly for their regeneration and prosperity. He gave his peasant movement a name, and accordingly Krishak Proja Samities

1. A. K. Fazlul Haq: A. S. M. Abdur Rab, p. 17.

came into existence in many parts of Bengal. A brilliant and powerful speaker in Bengali, the peasants of Bengal were electrified by his oratory, and they unquestioningly accepted him as their leader. The Krishak Proja Party was a progressive force in Bengal politics, at a time when most of its leaders were interested in politics only as a paying hobby or as a stepping-stone to popularity. Many leading politicians lent their whole-hearted support to Maulvi Fazlul Ḥaq's party, prominent among them being Maulana Akram Khan, Humayun Kabir, Dr. Naresh Chandra Sen Gupta, Abdul Latif Biswas, Maulana Pir Badshah Mian and Abu Hussain Sarkar. The Party held its sessions almost every year, and its appeal went on increasing. By 1924, the Krishak Proja Party had become very powerful, thanks to the untiring efforts of Maulvi Fazlul Haq. Presiding over the Party Conference that year, Fazlul Haq said, "Providence has placed in our hands the noblest of ploughs. We will drive the blade deeper in the confident hope that on the furrows we will raise, the sands of time will germinate the seeds of national regeneration." Fazlul Haq launched a daily, *Navajug*, at one time edited by the immortal poet, Nazrul Islam, and it carried the message of the Krishak Proja Party to the peasants all over Bengal.

Under the presidentship of Maulvi Fazlul Haq the annual session of the Bengal Presidency Muslim League was held at Dacca on 13th April, 1914. In his presidential address, he surveyed the entire Indian political scene, with special reference to the problems confronting the Muslims of Bengal. Giving a brief history of the annulment of the partition of Bengal, he said, "I wish to tell the officials that while the measure was based on broken pledges, it was sought to be embalmed in other solemn pledges, which still remain unredeemed." Deploring the hopelessly inadequate share given to Bengal Muslims in public services, he said, "Besides, it is also necessary that our community should be adequately represented in the various branches of the public service, for otherwise our voice in the councils of Government would be very ineffectual and ineffective. It is, therefore, inevitable that we should fight for a proper share of public appointments for the young men of our community; it is very necessary that we should press our claims strongly." Condemning the

reactionary Press Act, he said, "The present Act is a disgrace to the Indian Statute Book." His fearless advocacy of popular causes marked him out clearly as a nolitical leader with an unchallenged future.

In December 1916 was held the crucial Lucknow Session of the All-India Muslim League, under the presidentship of the Quaid-e-Azam. Maulvi Fazlul Haq attended it, as one of the representatives of Bengal. The main problem before the session was to evolve a scheme of reforms, acceptable both to the League and the Congress. Fazlul Haq was all for such a compromise. During the course of his speech, he said, "I believe all thinking men are thoroughly convinced that the key-note of our real progress lies in the goodwill, concord, harmony and cooperation between the two great sister communities. The true focus of union is centred in their union; and remember, this is a matter which is entirely in our own hands. The Muslims want proper, adequate and effective representation in the council chambers of the country, and in the District and Municipal Boards, a claim which no right-minded Hindu can dispute for a moment."

In order to help poor and deserving Muslim students, Fazlul Haq started in 1912 the Central National Mohammadan Educational Association. It was mainly due to his efforts that the Government of Bengal gave substantial grants to the Association to help Muslim students. He kept on advocating greater facilities to Muslims in the field of education, as a result of which in 1916 were built the Carmichael Hostel and the Taylor Hostel at Calcutta for the accommodation of Muslim students. "Along with H. H. the Aga Khan and Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk he has largely contributed to the establishment of the Muslim University at Aligarh in 1920."[1] He became for the first time Education Minister of Bengal in 1920. In order to remove illiteracy and in order to bring about their advancement in education, he started the Islamia College. At this time, Muslim students had to study Sanskrit in Government High Schools and Colleges in Bengal, as it was said that due to the paucity of Muslim students it was not practical to employ staff to teach them Persian and Arabic. In 1924, as Minister of Education, Maulvi Fazlul Haq got these facilities established

1. A. K. Fazlul Haq: A. M. S. Abdur Rab. p. 46.

for Muslim students, and the study of Persian and Arabic became popular with them. He also created a separate department, especially charged with looking after the interests of Muslim students. He ordered that a sufficient number of Muslims be employed in the Department of Education, and that an adequate number of seats be reserved for Muslim students in High-Schools and Colleges. By his remarkable work, he has made the Muslims of Bengal eternally indebted to him for their educational advancement. During the Non-Cooperation Movement, political leaders appealed to the students to boycott educational institutions and to completely give up pursuing their education. The far-sighted Fazlul Huq strongly advised Muslim students to the contrary, and exhorted them to continue their studies with single-mindedness and not to waste their time in the political controversies of the day.

Fazlul Haq was essentially a man of the masses, and all his policies as Minister or Chief Minister were activated by the consideration of being helpful and beneficial to the people at large. He was the mouthpiece of the peasantry of Bengal, and their undisputed leader. He got the Bengal Cabinets, at different periods, to enact legislation beneficial to the agriculturists. He found that almost all of them were heavily indebted to the village *Sethia* or Hindu middlemen. In 1936 he got enacted the Bengal Agricultural Debtors' Act, whereby millions of Muslim peasants were released from the clutches of Hindu usurers. "The total debts of the peasants of Bengal amounted to rupees nine hundred crores."[1] Debt Settlement Boards were set up, resulting in immense relief to the peasants of Bengal. To Fazlul Haq also goes the credit for having got the Money Lenders' Act passed for the benefit of the teeming millions of our agricultural population. To give them further protection, he was also mainly responsible for the Bengal Tenancy Amendment Act. In order to examine the land revenue system of Bengal and to recommend ameliorative measures, he appointed a committee known as the Flood Commission, one of the terms of its reference being to report whether the Zamindari system should be abolished or not. The Commission's report supported the idea, and the Bengal Legislative Assembly accordingly abolished the Zamindari

1. A. K. Fazlul Hrq: A. S. M. Abdur Rab, p. 48

system, to the great relief of the rural masses. "Muslims of Bengal in particular live under a deep obligation to Mr. Fazlul Haq. Had he not heralded the cry for educational, cultural and material prosperity for the Muslim community, they would have been languishing in the darkness of poverty and ignorance for decades to come."[1]

Ever since his first election victory in 1913, when he entered the Bengal Legislative Council, Fazlul Haq scored victory after victory in subsequent elections. He was already a political leader of All-India stature, and the Muslim League invited him to preside over its eleventh session at Delhi in 1918. During the course of his presidential address, he pleaded for the independence of the Muslim countries. "The question of the Caliphate must be determined by the Mussalmans themselves, without the intervention of the non-Muslims." This was a gentle hint to the Hindus, including Gandhi, to keep away from the Khilafat question. "The holy places of our Faith must also remain immune from non-Muslim influences." He dwelt at length on the political evolution of the Muslims of India. "As the years roll on, the position of the Muslims of India becomes more and more critical and demands our most anxious thought and care. In my humble opinion, we should invoke divine hlep and guidance in all sincerity and weakness of heart. Above all, we should renounce any lurking spirit of strife and quarrel with other communities and seek their help and assistance in our troubles and difficulties."

Fazlul Haq was nominated one of the Muslim delegates to the Round Table Conference. He took an active part in the deliberations of the Conference and in the private closed-door negotiations for Hindu-Muslim accord and for India's political advance. In one of his speeches at the Round Table Conference in 1931, he said, "These separate electorates have got a history! They really enable Muslims and others to get opportunities for cooperating with other communities in advancing the common interests of the country as a whole." Pleading that Hindus and Muslims should be both enabled to run the Government of the country under the proposed constitution, he said, "All that I plead for is that we should be

1. A. K. Fazlul Haq: A. S. M. Abdur Rab. p. 49.

given opportunities to take our proper share in the administration of the affairs of our country and to be partners with other sections of the community in the civil and administrative life of the Province." Asking the Hindus to be magnanimous, he said, "At the present moment they have got the entire administration in their hands. Our friends should come forward with a generous gesture, give the Muslims a chance to see that they have got friends in the other communities, and that they will be given an equal opportunity to work for the common goal."

As a result of the Round Table Conference, India came to be governed under the Government of India Act, 1935. Then followed elections to the assemblies, and Fazlul Haq scored an easy victory in the Patuakhali constituency, thus becoming a membertof the Bengal Legislative Assembly. On the persuasion of the Quaid-e-Azam, Fazlul Haq joined the Muslim League and was elected unanimously leader of the League-Coalition Party, as a result of which he became the first Chief Minister of Bengal in the first half of 1937. Khawaja Nazimuddin and H. S. Suhrawardy were members of his Cabinet! "The tenure of his first ministry from 1937 to 1943 may be rightly described as the Golden Age in the annals of Parliamentary Government in Bengal and the period of his real greatness in his long public life."[1] It was during this period of his life that Fazlul Haq toured Bihar, Orissa and Assam and succeeded in organising the Muslim League in these provinces and making it into a really powerful political party. He addressed the Muslim League Conference at Lucknow in 1937, at Karachi in 1938, at Cuttack in 1939, and presided over the Madras Provincial Muslim League Conference in 1940. One of the most important steps that he took as Chief Minister was to issue orders for adequate representation to Muslims in government services.

The order said, "The Government of Bengal have decided that......the policy of future recruitment in the public services of the Province will be directed to the attainment and maintenance, as far as possible, of parity in each of the three services between the Muslim and non-Muslim communities in the Province."

1. A. K. Fazlul Haq. A. S. M. Abur Rab, p. 90.

The Congress Ministries in the provinces where they were in power had meted out unfair treatment to the Muslims, and the Hindus had become intolerant and arrogant towards the Muslims. As a result, Hindu-Muslim tension prevailed all over India. A communal riot of a serious magnitude broke out in Dacca, and Fazlul Haq, as Chief Minister called a Round Table Conference of Hindu-Muslim leaders on 23rd February, 1940, in Writers' Building in Calcutta. As a result of his efforts, communal harmony was soon restored in the province. Congress rule had made Muslims wiser, and they could easily visualise what was in store for them in an undivided India after the British left. At such a period of our history was held the historic session of the Muslim League at Lahore on 22, 23, 24 March, 1940, presided over by the Quaid-e-Azam. Fazlul Haq rose to move the historic Pakistan Resolution on the 23rd, and we heard him with rapt attention, often broken by us with long and loud applause, as his oratory rose in crescendo and swept us off our feet. He said that the resolution stated in unambiguous terms that they were opposed to the idea of federation for India, and they wanted the idea of India's federal constitution to be completely scrapped and abandoned. The Muslims of Bengal, Maulvi Fazlul Haq went on to state, had gone on record recently through their representatives in the Bengal Legislative Assembly that Muslim India would never accept any constitution that was framed without their approval. However, if any constitution was forced on them, they would oppose it and make it unworkable. The Muslims, he said, constituted eighty millions, scattered all over India. They were a technical majority in the Punjab and Bengal, but not an effective majority. He vehemently attacked the recent statement of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad that the Muslims should not feel nervous; he characterised the Maulana's statement as un-Islamic. Eighty millions was not a small number, and the Muslims were not afraid. He reminded the Maulana that even in the Punjab and Bengal the position of Muslims was not safe, as their enemies could make political capital out of the weakness of the Muslims in these two provinces, where Muslims could form Governments only in coalition with other parties and interests. But coalition Governments were the weakest forms of Government known

to constitutionalists. To talk of safeguards for Muslims in minority provinces was a mockery, as they had a foretaste of it under Congress Governments in some provinces. He warned the Muslims that if they wanted to succeed, the Muslims all over India must stand united under the leadership of Quaid-e-Azam and under the Muslim League flag.[1]

Fazlul Haq was returned to the Bengal Legislative Assembly in the 1946 election from two constituencies, vindicating his right as a great and popular leader of the masses. When the Congress was invited to nominate its representatives in the Interim Government, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, the Congress President, requested Fazlul Haq to join the Congress and be its nominee in the Interim Cabinet. Fazlul Haq declined the offer outright, in spite of his differences at that time with the Muslim League. "Bombay and Gujerati Muslims residing in Calcutta met Mr. Fazlul Haq in a deputation in the latter part of September 1946 in his New Park Street residence and urged upon him to rejoin the Muslim League. They also undertook to persuade Mr. Jinnah to lift the ban imposed unon him. Thereupon, Mr. Fazlul Haq rejoined the Muslim League and promised to lay down his life and sacrifice his all for the sake of the Muslim League. In the great Calcutta riots he tried his best to restore peace and tranquillity and to save the lives and properties of the Muslims. As a lawyer he defended thousands of Muslims who were accused in the riot cases."[2]

When the partition of India was agreed unon between the British Government, the Congress and the Muslim League, the Radcliffe Commission was appointed to demarcate boundaries between the two new countries. Fazlul Haq argued the Muslim case before the Commission for Khulna to be ceded to Pakistan. It was due to his very able advocacy of our case that Khulna was given to Pakistan. "Had he not taken up the case of Khulna.... it would have surely been given to West Bengal......"[3]

On partition, Dacca came to be designated as the capital of East Bengal, and Fazlul Haq migrated from Calcutta to Dacca. "On his arrival at Dacca, Fazlul Haq could not arrange any

1. All-India Muslim League Lahore Session 1940: Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan.
2. A. K. Fazlul Haq: A. S. M. Abdur Rab.
3. Ibid. p. 162.

suitable accommodation for himself. One of his admirers at Dacca, however, vacated a flat of his residence at Aulad Hussain Lane near Islampur Road for the accommodation of the leader. This kind-hearted man was the late Abdul Quadir Sardar. Fazlul Haq resided there for about a year. Then he found a suitable house at 27, K. M. Das Lane, Tikatuly, which he later on purchased."[1]

When Fazlul Haq migrated to Pakistan after its establishment in 1947, he was already seventyfour. One could have thought that the stormy and useful days of his political career lay far behind and that he would now rest on his oars. But Fazlul Haq was endowed with an unquenchable thirst to work for his people, and so, in spite of his old age, he continued to spend the twilight of his life in the service of Pakistan. In 1951, he accepted the Advocate-Generalship of East Pakistan. When the elections were taking place to the East Pakistan Legislative Assembly, he organised the United Front, an opposition party, and toured the province from one end to the other, in spite of his eighty years. The United Front won a spectacular victory, and Fazlul Haq became the Chief Minister of East Pakistan. He subsequently became Minister of the Interior in the Central Government and Governor of East Pakistan.

In the beginning of 1962, his health was in bad shape, aggravated by an acute attack of ureamia. He was removed to the Dacca Medical College Hospital on 28th March, 1962, where he was at once in the hands of competent doctors. For a time his health sometimes improved and sometimes deteriorated, and on 25th April the health bulletin issued by his doctors said that the great leader of the masses was in a critical condition and that he was in a state of semi-consciousness. The end came at 10.40 in the morning of Friday, 27th April, 1962. He who had dominated the political stage for over half a century was no more with us.

"The late Mr. Fazlul Haq was a great leader of undivided Bengal and endeared himself to men of all communities by his largehearted generosity and patriotism. Both Pakistan and India require men of his vision, sympathy and imagination."[2]

1. A. K. Fazlul Haq: A. S. M. Abdur Rab, p. 166.
2. Condolence Message : Humayun Kabir.

"The glorious era has come to an end but left inspiration for us and he will live in our memory for ever. The name A. K. Fazlul Haq has become a household word and there is magic in this name which creates not only thrills but love and veneration for the man. Today we feel that we have lost that thrill and have become orphans. I do not know how to condole the sad demise of that great man, great as a national leader, great as a lawyer, great as an educationist and great as a philanthropist. He was always adored by the people for his largeheartedness. Let us fervently pray for his peace in heaven."[1]

Fazlul Haq wrote about himself, "When chance has raised me to dazzling heights, I have received her gifts with outstretched hands. When she has cast me down from my high pinnacle, I have accepted her buffets without complaint."

Condolence Message: Imam Hossain Chowdhury.

MAULANA HASRAT MOHANI

(1875—1951)

Maulana Hasrat Mohani was an inveterate enemy of the British and a lover of freedom for his people. In the pursuit of this passion, he joined different political parties at different times, and even started his own party with a manifesto, programme and all that goes with it. "This is the reason why he joined different political parties at different times. But as soon as he found a party not to be a supporter of freedom, he resigned and went his own way..... He became a member of the Muslim League, because they adopted a resolution in favour of self-government, which was the aim of Hasrat's life. But when he found his thirst for freedom not being quenched in the League, he kept away from it. When he felt that the Khilafat movement was not in keeping with his ultimate goal of freedom, he left it and joined the Socialists. However, as soon as he found that the Communist Party was the true standard-bearer of freedom, he joined them in the crusade for freedom."[1] To him what mattered most was how to wrest complete freedom from British hands as soon as possible, and not a party label, which was merely a means to an end, and not an end in itself.

Maulana Hasrat Mohani was descended from the family of Hazrat Imam Ali Moosa Raza of Nishapur, one of whose descendants, Sayed Mahmood Nishapuri, migrated from Nishapur to Mohan, in what was once the United Provinces. The tenth descendant of Sayed Mahmood, Hazrat Shah Wajuddin Mahmood Qudus, was born in Mohan in 1108 A.H. and he died in Mohan in 1205 A.H. Even up to this day his *Urs* takes place at Mohan annually, and in his lifetime Hasrat Mohani had gifted a portion of his ancestral property for the benefit of these annual

1. Hasrat Ki Syasi Zindagi: Abdul Qavi Desnavi, Halqua-e Ahebab Desna, Patna, p. 57.

celebrations.[1] His father's name was Sayed Azhar Hasan Mohani, and in this family was born Hasrat Mohani in the year A.D. 1875[2]

In accordance with family tradition, Hasrat's education began in a *Muktab* under a Maulvi, from whom he learnt the Holy Quran and Hadith, after which he was given lessons in Persian and Arabic. As a child he showed signs as a promising student, who had a great future before him. He then began to seriously prepare for his Urdu Middle examination, which he passed in 1894, standing first in the whole province. He now left Mohan for Fatehpur, in order to join the Government High School there and to study English. "He came there under the influence of Maulvi Sayed Zahoor-ul-Islam Fatehpoori, a teacher at the High School, and of Maulvi Hafiz Niaz Ahmed Barelvi, the Head Master of the High School."[3] He passed his Entrance Examination in 1889 from the Government High School, Fatehpur, securing the distinction of standing in the first division. It was during his student days at Fatehpur that Hasrat started writing poetry that was accepted by his superiors and prominent poets as good poetry. "Hasrat was a born poet."[4]

He now left Fatehpur and joined the Aligarh College, in order to obtain his bachelor's degree in arts. He soon distinguished himself at Aligarh as a brilliant student, both in studies and as a speaker and poet, taking a keen interest in the activities of the Society Union Club of the College. He proved his worth as an orator, both in English and in Urdu debates, and was often called upon to recite his poems in the gatherings of the Union. The English principal of the time discovered in Hasrat a budding revolutionary, who was out and out anti-British in his attitude. In order to tame his unbridled spirit, the English principal expelled him three times from the College, but Hasrat proved as incorrigible a revolutionary as ever. "Fortunately for him, Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk, who was Secretary of the College Board, was very fond of Hasrat,

1. Hasrat Mohani: Abdul Shakoor, Shah & Co., Agra. 1946. pp. 7-9.
2. Hasrat Mohani: Ferozsons Ltd., p. 5.
3. Diwan-e-Hasrat Mohani: Begum Hasrat Mohani.
4. Halat-e-Hasrat: Published by Silsila Nazar Bandan-e-Islam, Delhi.

otherwise his education would have been cut short by the English principal."[1]

This stormy petrel of the College Union passed his B.A. examination in 1903, and many tempting offers for service came to him from various quarters, as was customary in those days with graduates of Aligarh College. But he was a person, who did not believe in having "servant" and "master" attitude in life, and so disdaining all these offers, he embarked on a career as an independent journalist, starting in the same year of his graduation an Urdu magazine, called *Urdu-e-Mualla*. This magazine made no secret of its policy from the very start, as it proved to be a consistent champion of India's independence. Both the editor and the magazine came to be looked upon with suspicion by the foreign bureaucracy, who were on the lookout for an opportunity to crack their administrative whip on the back of this young and raging revolutionary. They soon got an opportunity, when in 1908 the magazine published an article entitled "British Policy in Egypt". The Government authorities took objection to this article and a case was filed in a court of law against the editor. Hasrat could have easily avoided the wrath of a displeased and arbitrary Government, if he had divulged the name of its author, a student of Aligarh. But Hasrat was lion-hearted and a gentleman at that. A case was filed against Hasrat under Section 124(A), and he took upon himself the entire responsibility for that article, without disclosing the name of its author. The members of the Bar were so much under the terror of the Government that not one of them accepted to take Hasrat's brief and to defend him against those charges. The trial was merely a formality, and Hasrat was awarded four years' hard labour and a fine of five hundred rupees. In order to realise this fine, Hasrat being unable to pay five hundred rupees, his library consisting of rare books was auctioned for sixty rupees and the amount credited towards the realisation of the fine. In 1908, Hasrat wrote that this was an act of vandalism, "As long as the Magistrates in India continue to take orders from the police with regard to cases pending before

1. Hasrat Ki Siyasi Zindagi : Abdul Qavi Desnavi, p. 10.

them, no one will ever get a fair trial. Judgement will be written before the commencement of a case."[1]

The vendetta of the British against Maulana Hasrat Mohani did not end with auctioning his library, sending him to in jail for penal servitude; for even in jail he continued to be victimised for his anti-British political views. He was often in solitary confinement, forced to work for hours at the grinding wheel, crushing one maund of wheat a day continuously for one year. "Look at the good fortune of we, the political prisoners in India. We have to live in a jail within a jail, doomed to live in a cell in a jail all alone, not allowed to see or talk to any one." He was transferred from Aligarh jail to Allahabad jail, and for his travelling expenses he was not paid even one pice. "The result of all this was that I had to dip a few grams in water and eat them for dinner."[2] While in Allahabad jail, his father came from Aligarh to see him, but the jail authorities refused to give permission to the father for this interview. Old in age, broken in spirit, the aged father returned to Aligarh, only to die some days later. Learning this, Hasrat felt dejected and frustrated. "After coming out of jail, I learnt that my father never kept well, after his return from Allahabad, and he died while I was in jail. I was not informed of his death, during the time I served as a prisoner in jail."[3] Hasrat was made to suffer many indignities in jail. "The Superintendent of jail came to my cell. He burnt to ashes all of my newspapers, magazines and books, including *Diwan-e-Hafiz*, and ordered me indignantly to present myself in his office."[4]

From the very beginning of his married life, Hasrat found in his wife a congenial companion, who stood by him like a rock in all his difficulties and encouraged him to go on working devotedly for the cause of India's independence. "Begum Hasrat is one of those women who have made the greatest possible sacrifices for our independence. She encouraged her husband, when he was surrounded by difficulties. Had it not been for her support, Hasrat would have been submerged under domestic problems." Maulana Hasrat Mohani has

1. Urdu-e-Mualla, 1908.
2. Ibid. 1908.
3. Ibid. 1908.
4. Ibid. 1908.

himself paid the highest tribute to Begum Saheba in his writings. "She sent to me in jail on the very next day such a letter that I felt all the more ready to face any further odds that I was being subjected to in jail." He was a devoted husband, and she was an equally devoted wife. When the Begum died in 1937, Hasrat burst forth into sad song :

> After you have gone over to the Great Beyond
> My heart for none other will become fond.

After leaving Aligarh College in 1903, Hasrat was actively in politics, and he appears to have joined the Indian National Congress in the first years of this century. The Congress session at Surat in 1907 was a stormy one, and there was a split in its ranks. Congress was divided into two groups—the moderates led by men like Dadabhoy Naoroji, and the extremists led by Tilak; Maulana Hasrat Mohani was present at the Surat session, and was naturally on the side of the extremists, with the result that when Tilak resigned from the Congress after the Surat session over its moderate policies, Hasrat also parted company with the Congress. He was already a marked man in the eyes of the foreign rulers, and he was constantly being advised by his friends to give up his extremist polices and to either join the ranks of the moderates in the Congress or to join the Muslim League. But all these pleadings had no effect on him, and he continued to live dangerously. To such advisers, Hasrat replied in verse :

> To his heart's content the tyrant may punish
> But that must not one's patriotism finish.

After he was released from jail at the time of his subsequent conviction, he wrote :

> Punish me, Tyrant, to your heart's content
> I swear I will not show any discontent.

In 1918, when the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms were announced, Hasrat, unafraid of another possible conviction, wrote :

> Full of decept through and through
> Are the so-called Reforms of Montagu.

The Swadeshi movement was at this time popular all over India, and Hasrat sincerely believed that Indians must boycott all foreign goods and buy everything made in India. He decided to start a Swadeshi store, "Hasrat had everything—sincerity, wisdom, education, truthfulness. But money was always running miles away from him. He had no money to start a store. It was Maulana Shibli who recommended Hasrat to Sir Fazalbhoy Currimbhoy of Bombay, who gave him financial assistance to embark on this venture."[1] The Swadeshi store was an instantaneous success, and thousands of people began to patronise it. Surprised at Hasrat's success in business, for which he was least suited, Maulana Shibli exclaimed, "Are you a man or a giant, Hasrat? At first you were a poet; then a politician; and now you have become a bania!" Prosperity and poverty made no difference to him. He was quite familiar with poverty. "Up to now his monthly income had been only rupees fifty."

At first Hasrat kept himself away from the Muslim League. But, in 1913, the Quaid-e-Azam joined the League and began to take active interest in and to influence its decisions, with the result that in 1913 the League adopted a resolution seeking self-government as its goal. "*Al Hamdo Lillah*, Muslim League Council in its meeting of 1914 accepted self-government as its goal, which I had declared in 1907."[2] Thus, in 1915 Maulana Hasrat Mohani joined the League, and played an active role in bringing the Congress and the League together, as the two organisations were holding their annual session in Bombay at the same time. In 1921, he presided over the annual session of the All-India Muslim League at Ahmedabad. During the course of his presidential address, he said, "From the Muslim point of view it is not enough that we should stand for complete independence alone. It is necessary to decide upon the form that it should take. . . . The generality of Mussalmans, with a few exceptions, are afraid of the numerical superiority of the Hindus and are absolutely opposed to any ordinary form of schemes as a substitute for complete independence. . . . While the Mussalmans are in a minority in India, yet nature has provided a compensation;

1. Hasrat Mohani: Abdul Shakoor. pp. 18-19.
2. Halat-e-Hasrat: p. 231.

the Mussalmans are not in a minority in all the provinces. In some provinces such as Kashmir, the Punjab, Sind, Baluchistan and Assam, the Mussalmans are more numerous than the Hindus."

At the same time in 1921 there was held the session of the All-India National Congress in Ahmedabad. Gandhi was at the height of power, and was dominating the Congress: Under his guidance, the Working Committee of the Congress adopted a resolution demanding Swaraj, without defining the meaning of the word. The resolution fought shy of using any stronger word. When this resolution of the Working Committee was moved in the open session, Maulana Hasrat Mohani opposed it on the ground that it was vague and meaningless, unless the word Swaraj was clearly defined in the resolution. Hasrat moved an addendum to the resolution saying that "Swaraj in this resolution means complete independence, free from all foreign control". His fiery speech calling for complete independence annoyed Gandjhi, who rose to oppose the addendum of Maulana Hasrat Mohani. He said, "The levity with which the proposition has been taken by some of you has grieved me. It has grieved me because it shows lack of responsibility.....Let us first of all gather up our strength, let us first of all sound our own depths. Let us not go into waters whose depths we do not know, and this proposition of Mr. Hasrat Mohani leads you into depths unfathomable."[1]

At this period of time, it appears as a poor commentary on Gandhi's work in the field of India's independence, when one remembers that in 1921 while Hasrat demanded complete independence, Gandhi took refuge behind an indefinable word "Swaraj", and opposed its substitution by the words "complete independence". Of course, Gandhi carried the day, Hasrat's addendum was defeated. But to Hasrat goes the credit for being the first Indian to demand complete independence for India publicly from the platform of a political organisation.

This is not the only time that Hasrat came into violent clash with Gandhi in the deliberations of the Congress, each advocating stoutly his own solution as the best answer to a grim political situation. While others in the Congress were

1. The History of the Congress: Dr. Patabhi Sitaramyya, pp. 384-386.

overawed by the reverence in which Gandhi was held by Congressites, Maulana Hasrat Mohani met him on equal terms, not in the least to be silenced because Gandhi opposed his point of view. Halide Edib, that eminent Turkish traveller and author, visited India in 1937 and met a number of political leaders and intellectuals, among them being Gandhi and Hasrat Mohani. She wrote, "Hasrat.... was the first advocate of integral independence. Mahatama Gandhi has said concerning Hasrat, to a Muslim friend of mine. 'When I have a talk with Hasrat, I cannot sleep in peace.' It is significant that both S. Naidu and Hasrat, who must have been young members of Sir Syed Ahmed's reform movement in 1898, when he (S. Ahmed) died, differ in their political outlook from their leader."[1]

In 1930, the Congress started the individual satyagraha movement, and Hasrat jumped into the arena and got himself arrested. "In the Amanullah Park in Lucknow, Maulana Hasrat Mohani rose on an improvised platform and began to harangue the audience against the British. The police were there with their lorries parked outside the Park. As soon as he finished his speech, the police pounced on him. He lay flat on the ground, refusing to rise and walk to the police lorries. He was shouting 'Inquilab Zindabad'. The police bodily lifted him, put him in one of their lorries and took him to jail."[2] Hasrat was equally at home in the cell of a jail as in the editorial office of *Urdu-e-Mualla*.

In 1925, when the first conference of the Communist Party of India was held, Hasrat was the chairman of its Reception Committee. It was indeed daring for an Indian political leader at that critical time to ally himself to the Communist Party, which the British dreaded most. But Hasrat lived dangerously. From the platform of the Communist Party, he declared, "Communism is a movement of the peasants and workers. Some think that Communism is synonymous with chaos and killings. We believe in non-violence as a political expediency, while Mahatma Gandhi looks upon it as his religion ....Our independence should be based on the model of

1. Inside India: Halide Edibe, p. 128.
2. Maulana Hasrat Mohani Ke Lataef: Ghulam Ahmed Furqat, Aj Kal. December 1955.

the Soviet Government, where Communism shall be the ruling political creed."

The annual session of the Muslim League met at Lucknow on 18th October, 1937. Maulana Hasrat Mohani was active canvassing support for his resolution demanding complete independence. He came across opposition and obstacles, but he went on soliciting support, and worked tirelessly for its acceptance. The Quaid-e-Azam gave his blessings to this resolution, and in the open session, Hasrat moved his resolution on Complete Independence, which was finally accepted by the League. The resolution said, "Resolved that the object of the All-India Muslim League should be the establishment in India of full independence in the form of a federation of free democratic states in which the rights and interests of the Mussalmans and other minorities are adequately and effectively safeguarded in the Constitution." This resolution was moved by Maulana Hasrat Mohani, and supported, among others, by Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, Hosain Imam, Abdur Rehman Siddiqui and Choudhari Khaliquzzaman.

Maulana Hasrat Mohani's political sympathies embraced the Muslims of all countries. At the time Italy went to war with Tripoli, the press run by him had been closed by the Government, as Hasrat could not pay the security deposit of three thousand rupees demanded by the Government. But he was not a man to sit quiet when the Muslims of Tripoli were being mercilessly attacked by an imperialist power. He called upon the Muslims of India to boycott all goods manufactured in Italy and to hold meetings protesting against the wanton attack by Italy on Tripoli. After this war, the Balkan Wars disturbed the World of Islam. Hasrat was once again in the forefront leading the anti-Imperialist forces to condemn the wanton aggression against Turkey. It was a lifelong predilection with him, which asserted itself when in 1938 it became clear that the British foreign policy in Palestine was becoming increasingly pro-Zionist and anti-Arab. Therefore, when the Council of the All-India Muslim League met in Delhi on 31st July, 1938, Maulana Hasrat Mohani exerted all his influence to see that a resolution condemning the British Government was passed, an idea which was also uppermost in the minds of all the delegates. The resolution adopted on

that day called upon Muslims all over India to observe the 26th August, 1938, as "Palestine Day.... and appeals for the Mussalmans to hold meetings condemning the unjust, repressive, and inhuman policy that is pursued by the British Government and offer prayers for the complete success of our Arab brethren in their honourable and just struggle for the freedom of their country." Speaking on this resolution, Hasrat made an impassioned plea for the support of the Arab cause and scathingly condemned the British Government for their anti-Muslim policies all over the world. The Council further appointed a committee "to consider the question of sending an influential deputation abroad, especially to Palestine and England." Maulana Hasrat Mohani was one of the most important members of this committee on the question of Palestine. Among the other members were Maulana Shaukat Ali and Maulana Zafar Ali Khan; Aziz Ahmed Saheb was appointed as the convenor of the committee.

As I call to mind the open session of the All-India Muslim League in 1942 at Allahabad, I can never forget the role that Maulana Hasrat Mohani played in that session. I was sitting with the contingent from Sind, among whom was Mrs. J. G. Allana, my wife, who was at that time a member of the Sind Legislative Assembly. The Working Committee had given considerable thought to a resolution that was to be moved in the open session on Cripps' Proposals, as the Cripps' mission was in India at that time. This resolution of the Working Committee had the blessings of Quaid-e-Azam, who had given indication of its support in his presidential address. Many leaders mounted the rostrum and spoke in support of the resolution to the thunderous applause of about a hundred thousand enthusiastic supporters. When the Quaid was about to put the resolution to the vote, one lean looking elderly gentleman raised his hand and shouted that he wanted to speak against the resolution. A multitude of voices shouted against him. They protested and booed as he walked towards the dais. Clad in a long flowing sherwani, he gave one the impression of being a daring preacher, prepared to die for a cause. As he came to the microphone, thousands of people shouted, "Sit down. Sit down." This man was Maulana Hasrat Mohani, whom every one recognised as the

dauntless hero of many political battles. Even leaders on the dais tried to persuade him not to oppose the resolution. But the Quaid, the constitutionalist that he was, allowed Hasrat to speak against the resolution. His speech was badly interrupted by that seething mass of humanity. But Hasrat held his ground, and he was not to be cowed down. He raised his voice and thundered in his own special style against the British on that occasion :

> At the top of my voice I am shouting
> According to plan I am retreating.

Every one had a hearty laugh, but the interruptions continued. Undaunted Hasrat took his full time, speaking against the resolution of the Working Committee. When he had finished speaking, the Quaid-e-Azam put the resolution to the vote. All hands were raised in support of it. The only hand to rise, signifying opposition to the resolution, was that of Hasrat. One man against a hundred thousand ! It is delectable to go with the current; difficult to swim against it.

After partition, Maulana Hasrat Mohani decided to remain in India and not migrate to Pakistan. He was already over seventythree, having entered the afternoon of his old age. A little after partition, his health showed signs of deterioration. He died on 13th May 1951 at Lucknow.

On his death, Z. Ansari wrote a couplet :

> "Today Hasrat ! much remember
> Yesterday he yonder went over."[1]

1. Khuloos Ki Do Rangi: Z. Ansari, p. 167.

QUAID-E-AZAM JINNAH

(1876—1948)

The British had come to the subcontinent as merchants, seeking concessions, begging for friendly and favourable treatment, and had ended by setting up an empire in India, which was the most dazzling jewel in the Imperial Crown. But in 1857, a new spark ignited a mighty flame of revolt, which is in fact the first spectacular chapter in our struggle for freedom from foreign domination. While the rebellion raged in all its fury in many parts of India, Gondal, a princely State in Kathiawar, continued a life undisturbed by political turmoil and awakening under the rule of the Thakur Saheb. Gondal, the capital of the State, was the biggest city but its overwhelming population lived in the villages. Paneli was one such village, having a population of less than a thousand at the time of India's first rebellion. In this sleepy little village lived at this time a hard-working old man, Poonjabhai, an Ismaili Khoja, and there had lived, worked and died his forefathers. Agriculture was the main occupation of the people of Paneli, Poonjabhai being among the few exceptions, as he owned some handlooms, on which he worked long and tiring hours. This enabled him to make enough money to enable his family to live a happy and contented life.

Poonjabhai had three sons, Valjibhai, Nathoobhai, Jinnahbhai, and one daughter, Manbai. Jinnahbhai, the youngest, was born around 1850, and he was more dynamic than his two brothers. To his youthful and ambitious mind, Paneli appeared to be too small a place, where the only prospect that stared him in the face was to be one of the three heirs to his father's few handlooms and to spend a whole lifetime running after paltry gain. He soon realised this was not a life that he would like to live. Gondal, that big city, tempted his spirit of adventure, and he quietly left Paneli for Gondal. In

the State Capital, business was both big and brisk, and it did not take discreet Jinnahbhai long to select a few lucrative lines, in which he made quick money, buying cheap and selling at a profit. His almost empty purse began to swell and soon he had amassed enough money to return proudly home and tell his father that he had succeeded very well. The father was naturally happy at the successful business career of his son, and he and his wife began to show growing concern about their son's future. After all, Gondal was far from home, where young Jinnahbhai would be alone, subject to all temptations that go with city life. The two parents decided that Jinnahbhai should get married before he left Paneli. Their search for a suitable match took them to Dhraffa, a village about ten miles from Paneli, where lived Mithibai, a girl from a respectable Ismaili Khoja family. "The parents of the girl were approached, who agreed to give their blessings to the proposed match, and Jinnahbhai was married to Mithibai in Dhraffa around 1874."[1]

With his newly wedded wife, Jinnahbhai came to Gondal and was absorbed in his business, which succeeded beyond his wildest dreams, and a time soon came when he considered Gondal too small to contain his soaring dreams and ambitions. He had heard of Karachi, a new and prosperous city, and of Bombay, a city that had shot sky-high in trade and industry. For a while he hesitated whether he should migrate to Bombay or to Karachi, until he finally left Gondal in 1875 and came to permanently settle in Karachi, a city with a population of about fifteen thousand, but with very bright future prospects for business. Karachi at that time consisted mainly of Khadda, which was littered with fish godowns; Kharadhar, a cluster mostly of mud houses, but where were located also the houses and offices of big business firms; Mithadhar, where sweet water could be obtained by digging knee-deep wells; and Saddar, where British troops lived in barracks, surrounded by bazars and shops. Jinnahbhai rented a modest two-room apartment in a building on Newnham Road in Kharadhar and set up his office near his residence. The building in which Jinnahbhai and Mithibai lived was of stone

1. Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah: G. Allana, p. 3.

masonry and lime mortar, and the apartment rented by them was on the first floor.

The business, started on a modest scale by Jinnahbhai, prospered, and he was soon reckoned among the leading merchants of Karachi with an extensive overseas trade as well as trade with the vast hinterland. Two of the items in which he dealt was isinglass and gum-arabic, doing business through an English firm in Karachi, Grahams Shipping and Trading Company, whose manager, Frederick Leigh Croft, became a personal friend of Jinnahbhai, with whom he could converse in English, a rare accomplishment for an Indian merchant of Karachi in those days.

Mithibai was now with child, and her firstborn, a son, was brought into the world by a midwife of Kharadhar on Sunday, 25th December, 1876. The baby was weak and tiny—slim, long hands, an elongated head. The worried parents were reassured by doctors, again and again, that the health of the boy was normal and they need have no fear on that account. They named the boy, Mohammed Ali, and he continued to be the favourite child of his parents, although they had in all four daughters and three sons—Rahemat, Maryam, Shireen, Fatima, Mohammed Ali, Ahmed Ali and Bundeh Ali. When Mohammed Ali was only six months old, Mithibai had an overpowering desire to take her first child to the *Durgah* of Hassan Pir at Ganod, near Paneli, for performing his *aquiqah* ceremony, and she succeeded in persuading her husband to accompany her on this journey from Karachi to Ganod, which was partly covered by sailing boats and partly by bullock-carts. Hassan Pir was an Ismaili missionary from Iran, who, coming into India by the overland route, had halted at Multan and in Sind, where he had converted many Hindus to Islam, and crossing over the desert route to Cutch had finally settled near Paneli, in order to carry on his missionary work. One night, while he was lost in meditation, on the bank of the Bhadhar River, a huge tidal wave lashed the coastline, and Hassan Pir was dragged into mid-river, and death by drowning ended the earthly life of this Muslim *sufi*. The dead body went floating down the river and was discovered next morning by the *Rabaris* on the river-bank near Ganod, where came to be built his *Durgah*. After the *aquiqah* ceremony, the parents

took their son, Mohammed Ali, with them to visit their ancestral home in Paneli and then returned *via* Verawal to Karachi, the mother being confident that her Mohammed Ali would become a great man in his time.

Mohammed Ali was at first taught Gujrati at home by competent tutors, and on 4th July, 1887, he was admitted in the Sind Madressah-tul Islam. He was eleven then and he was admitted to the first standard. He left Sind Madressah on 30th January, 1892, while he was a student of Standard V, and the school register shows "Reasons of withdrawal : Left for Cutch on marriage". Jinnahbhai's business prospered and he often discussed the future of young Mohammed Ali with Frederick Leigh Croft, who advised him to send his young son, now sixteen, to London, to learn business in the Head Office of Grahams Shipping and Trading Company. The father agreed but the mother was reluctant to allow her favourite son to go to Europe for two years, before he had got married. Mohammed Ali agreed to comply with the wishes of his mother, who had selected Emibai, a girl from an Ismaili Khoja family of Paneli, whom she knew would make a suitable wife for Mohammed Ali. This was one of the very few important decisions in his life that the Quaid-e-Azam had taken on the advice of another. Jinnahbhai, Mithibai and Mohammed Ali proceeded to Paneli, where Mohammed Ali was married to Emibai, who was fourteen years old, after prolonged and spectacular wedding festivities. The bridal party returned to Karachi, and young Mohammed Ali stayed with his newly married wife, Emibai, in the house of his parents. He was busy preparing for a long journey to England.

When the young Mohammed Ali reached London, winter was in full blast, weather to which he was not accustomed. "I found a strange country and unfamiliar surroundings. I did not know a soul, and the fogs and winter in London upset me a great deal, but I soon settled down and was quite happy."[1] Scanning the brief advertisement columns of the dailies, he soon found an English family that was prepared to accept this smart and intelligent young man as a paying guest with them in their house on 35, Russell Road, Kensington, where the London Court Council has put a plaque, which

1. The Immortal Years: Sir Evelyn Wrench. Hutchinson, London, 1945, p. 132.

reads, "Quaid-e-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah, 1876-1948—Founder of Pakistan, stayed here in 1895". Mohammed Ali, as a young boy, on seeing a barrister for the first time robed in a black gown had said, "I want to be a barrister," and this urge asserted itself. He gave up all thought of being a businessman, and decided to study for the "Little Go", which was the entrance examination in those days for admittance to an Inn in London to become a barrister. He studied very hard, passed his "Little Go", and joined Lincoln's Inn in 1893. "I joined Lincoln's Inn, because there, on the main entrance, the name of the Prophet was included in the list of the great law-givers of the world."[1] At Lincoln's Inn he changed his name to read "M. A. Jinnah".

He passed his law examination in two years, so that in 1895 at the age of eighteen he was called to the Bar, the youngest ever Indian barrister. In the meantime he had been struck by tragedy in the family. Within a few weeks after leaving Karachi, his child wife, Emibai, died, and in 1895 he lost his mother, whom he loved so dearly. During his student days in London, Jinnah took a keen interest in the affairs of the Indian student community and frequented the House of Commons to listen to the speeches of the great liberal leaders of those days. Just then, Dadabhoy Naoroji, the Grand Old Man of Indian politics, was contesting a seat in the English Parliament from Central Finsbury, and Jinnah threw himself heart and soul into the election work on behalf of Dadabhoy, who won the election with a comfortable majority. A great admirer of Dadabhoy Naoroji's work in Parliament in the cause of India, the enthusiastic and optimistic Jinnah said, "I want to be in London and enter Parliament, where I hope to wield some influence. There I shall meet British statesmen on a footing of equality."[2]

After an absence of about four years, Jinnah returned to Karachi in 1896, only to learn from his father that their family business had failed, and that there were many cases pending in the courts against the family for payment of business debts. Although tempting offers were made to him by two leading

1. Quaid-e-Azam's address to the Karachi Bar Association in 1947.
2. Leaders of India: Joachim Alva, p. 65. Thacker & Co., Bombay. 1943.

firms of Hindu advocates, Harchandrai Vishandas and Company and Lalchand & Company, he preferred to leave Karachi, with bitter memories of the loss of his mother and business failures, and to migrate to Bombay to seek his future in that city. "This favourite of fortune, suddenly faced with unexpected poverty, set out to conquer the world equipped with nothing but the charmed missiles of his youth, his courage and ambition."[1]

He took a room on long-term basis in a hotel in Bombay and had his name enrolled in the Bombay High Court. The first few years were terribly frustrating, for no briefs came his way. But he kept a bold front, and no one that came into contact with this young and intelligent barrister could believe that he was having a difficult time. "He will prefer to eat his heart away in the wilderness and retire into frigid silence than play second-fiddle to anybody."[2] Always well-groomed, he cut a distinguished figure, for he had a fine appearance, and was impeccable in sartorial perfection, a trait he kept up to the last days of his life. Many Viceroys said of him, "He is the best dressed gentleman I have ever met in India". A friend of his introduced him to Macpherson, the acting Advocate-General of Bombay, who liked him immensely, and invited him to work under him, a rare distinction to befall an Indian Barrister in those days. After some time Macpherson recommended Jinnah's name to Sir Charles Olivant, the member in charge of the Judicial Department, who appointed him as temporary Presidency Magistrate. When the period of temporary appointment was over Sir Ollivant offered him a higher job on Rs. 1,500 a month, a princely salary in those days. The young man thanked Sir Ollivant for the offer, but declined it, "No, thank you, Sir. I will soon be able to earn that much in a single day." And that day was not far. Jinnah's rise to fame at the Bar was phenomenal. A few years later, when Jinnah met Sir Ollivant, the latter was very happy at his success. "He congratulated me on my determination and courage, saying that I had done well to refuse his offer."[3]

1. An Ambassador of Unity: Sarojini Naidu. Ganesh & Co., Madras.
2. Leaders of India: Joachim Alva, p. 64.
3. Mohamad Ali Jinnah: M. H. Saiyid, pp. 10-11.

He had a very high reputation for integrity and fearlessness. "Jinnah had always, even in his junior days, shown considerable independence and courage. He never allowed himself to be overborne by the judge or the opposing counsel."[1] Many anecdotes are related to this day of his brilliant encounters with the judges and his opposing counsel. "As a counsel he has ever had his head erect, unruffled by the worst circumstances. He has been our boldest advocate; no judge can bully him. He did not brook an insult."[2] He had a flourishing practice now, and he asked his aging father to come to Bombay with his children. Jinnahbhai accordingly came to Bombay and he and his family took up residence in a rented flat at Khadak in Khoja Mohalla, where the busy young Mohammed Ali visited them every Sunday, providing them with enough money to enable them to live a respectable life. He was taking interest in politics, and those that came into contact with him recognised in him a rising Titan of the future. "Perchance it is written in the book of the future that he..... may in some glorious and terrible crisis of our national struggle pass into immortality as the Mazzini of the Indian liberation."[3]

In politics, Jinnah showed in his early life that "He had an abhorrence for violence and anti-constitutional measures as a means to achieve political objectives."[4] His ideals in the field of politics were stalwarts like Dadabhoy Naoroji, Gokhale and Surendranath Bannerjee "His own political views had been shaped by Gokhale, Dadabhoy, Surendranath Bannerjee and C. R. Das, whom he adopted as his political *gurus* and for whom he had the greatest respect."[5] In 1906 the Congress session was held at Calcutta, Dadabhoy being elected to preside over it. Jinnah was with Dadabhoy as his personal secretary, and both stayed at the Chowringhee House of the Maharajah of Darbhanga. At this period of his political career, Jinnah was a member of the Congress and believed that Swaraj could be won through Hindu-Muslim unity. Gandhi returned to India from South Africa in 1914, and Jinnah and Gandhi met for the first time at a garden party in

1. Recollections and Reflections: Sir Chimanlal Setalvad, p. 66.
2. Leaders of India: Joachim Alva, p. 79.
3. An Ambassador of Unity: Sarojini Naidu, p. 2.
4. Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah. G. Allana, p. 61.
5. Meet Mr. Jinnah: A. A. Ravoof, p. 35.

honour of the latter given by Sir Jehangir B. Petit. The Muslim League came into being in 1906, but Jinnah kept away from it. The Simla Deputation, under the leadership of the Aga Khan, had succeeded, as the Morley-Minto Reforms conceded the principle of separate electorates to the Muslims. In 1910, at the Allahabad session of the Congress, Jinnah moved a resolution disapproving the principle of separate representation, although the resolution demanded 'adequate representation' for the Muslims.

Although he was not a formal member of the Muslim League, that organisation looked up to Jinnah for advice and guidance, and in 1910 and in 1911 he was requested to address the meetings of the Council of the all-India Muslim League. He breathed into the deliberations of the League the refreshing air of dynamism and progress. He also attended the meeting of the Council of the League in 1912, held under the chair manship of the Aga Khan, when its Constitution was revised and made more broad-based. This meeting passed a resolution saying that the League believed in working for Hindu-Muslim unity. Jinnah felt happy that his efforts had succeeded in bringing the League and Congress nearer one another.

When the Aga Khan resigned from the presidentship of the Muslim League in 1912, after having been in that office for six years, he was succeeded by Raja Mohammad Ali Mohammad Khan of Mahmudabad and Syed Wazir Hasan was elected as its Secretary, the central office of the League being shifted from Aligarh to Lucknow. In September, 1913, the League deputed Maulana Mohammad Ali and Syed Wazir Hasan to visit England in connection with an ancient mosque at Cawnpore, which had been demolished under Government orders, giving rise to an all-India agitation among the Muslims against this barbarous act of the Government of India. Maulana Mohammad Ali and Syed Wazir Hasan called on Jinnah, who was at that time on a holiday in England, requesting him to join the Muslim League, which he agreed on condition that this would not in any way "imply even the shadow of disloyalty to the larger national cause to which his life was dedicated."[1] Jinnah was now in a position to act as a bridge between the Congress and the League. He attended the Karachi session

1. An Ambassador of Unity: Sarojini Naidu.

of the Congress in December 1913, when he said, "You do not know what pleasure it gives me to stand on this platform in this city of Karachi, where I was born, where I have found by my side, after my arrival in this city, personal friends with whom I played in my boyhood".

The first World War broke out in 1914, and as a consequence of this the Muslim League could not hold its annual session that year. In 1915, the Congress was to hold its session in Bombay, and Jinnah decided that the League must also hold its session in Bombay at about the same time. Lord Willingdon, the Governor of Bombay, helped the administrative machinery to put all obstacles in the way of the League holding its annual session, and Jinnah took up the challenge. Bureaucracy was flabbergasted at the success of the joint Congress-League meeting in Bombay. Jinnah moved a resolution in the League session that a committee be appointed to draw a scheme of political reforms for India. Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, who was at that time a member of the Muslim League, supported the resolution moved by his leader, Jinnah. The Congress also set up a committee for the same purpose. In November 1916 the two committees met jointly at Calcutta and drew up an agreed draft of reforms, which came to be known as the Lucknow Pact. Jinnah got a memorandum prepared to back the Congress-League Pact, and this memorandum was signed by the nineteen members of the Imperial Legislative Council, and came to be known as the Memorandum of the Nineteen. This Pact accepted separate electorates as the basis of representation to the Muslims in the Assemblies and in the local bodies. Presiding over the Bombay Provincial Political Conference in 1916 at Ahmedabad, Jinnah said, "The core of the Indian problem is the transfer of power from the bureaucracy to democracy." The Lucknow Pact was largely instrumental in giving shape to the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms of 1919.

On the first of September, 1916, Dr. Mrs. Annie Besant launched the Home Rule League, and Jinnah joined this League in 1917, becoming the President of the Bombay branch. He said, "As President of the Home Rule League, I can but repeat that all that we want......is the realisation of the scheme of reforms adopted at Lucknow". Jinnah had

been first elected to the Imperial Legislative Council in 1909, and he was once again elected to the Council from Bombay constitutency, defeating his rival Rafiuddin Ahmed by a comfortable majority. In the same year he went as the leader of a deputation jointly appointed by the Congress and League to visit England to educate the British public on the necessity of granting to India reforms on the lines of the Lucknow Pact, backed by the Memorandum of the Nineteen. Other members of the deputation were Tej Bahadur Sapru, Srinivasa Sastri and Syed Wazir Hasan. The agony and strain of a prolonged war was having a shattering effect on the nerves of our foreign rulers. On the Indian scene, in the meantime, Gandhi was slowly rising like a colossus and from now on it was Jinnah and Gandhi that were to dominate Indian politics. The two were a study in contrast. "Gandhi was a visionary with a distinction—showmanship was second nature to him. Jinnah never minced words...... Gandhi speaks in riddles."[1] When the War Conference was held in Delhi on 30th April, 1918, Jinnah moved a resolution for the grant of constitutional reforms to India, linking lindia's participation in the war efforts with Britain's willingness or otherwise to grant reforms to India. Gandhi, on the other hand, wholeheartedly supported unconditional recruitment of Indians in the army and promised all-out support for the war efforts. On 8th July, 1918, the Government published the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms Scheme, and it was greeted with a mixed reception. Jinnah said he was not prepared to summarily reject them, "but they may be modified upon further discussion". The Armistice signed on 11th November, 1918, ended the First World War, and in December the League and the Congress met in Delhi, the former under the chairmanship of Maulvi Fazlul Haq and the latter under Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya. While the League adopted a resolution, partly accepting the scheme of reforms, the Congress resolution rejected it *in toto*. In the wake of the Congress decision, anti-Government demonstrations were witnessed in many cities and the Government enacted the much hated Rowlatt Act. Jinnah, opposing this Act, said during the debate on the Bill, "My first ground is that it is against the fundamental principle of law and justice,

1. Why Of The Great Indian Conflict: M. A. Mehtar. p. 13.

namely, that no man should lose his liberty or be deprived of his liberty, without a judicial trial in accordance with the accepted rules of evidence and procedure". Gandhi issued his famous Satayagrah Pledge, while Jinnah, the constitutionalist, appealed in an open letter to the Viceroy to withdraw the anti-people's legislation. "A Government that passes or sanctions such a law in time of peace forfeits its claim to be called a civilised Government." As a protest, he resigned from the Imperial Legislative Council.

Gandhi called for complete *Hartal* on 6th April, 1919, and there were riots on the streets of many Indian cities. On 11th April a huge crowd gathered at a police station in Amritsar, demanding the release of political leaders that had been arrested. On the following day the citizens had called a protest meeting at Jalianwalla Bagh. General Dwyer was handed the control of the city, and he moved his soldiers into Jallianwalla Bagh with rifles, bayonets and machine-guns. Some twenty thousand people were present, and General Dwyer ordered his men to fire on that peaceful crowd, without any warning, "To teach these bloody Indians a lesson". Martial Law was clamped all over the Punjab, and Muslims of that province suffered particularly heavily under this brutal Martial Law. In 1920, a White Paper was issued to the British Parliament, which admitted that Martial Law had been "intensive". Villages, such as Narwar, Muridke and Kamoke were bombed from the air and the village headmen, Muslims, flogged and whipped publicly "for obstructive behaviour" and "for their own punishment and for the edification of the village".[1] Jinnah was shocked beyond words at the sufferings of the Muslims of the Punjab under Martial Law. "The Mohammadan community especially suffered."[2] While indignation against General Dwyer in India was mounting, "an admiring public" in England opened a public subscription list and presented him with a purse. Sir Valentine Chirol wrote that whilst the Punjab Government was still haggling over doles to the widows and orphans of Jallianwalla Bagh, the English public were opening their purses to fill the pockets of General Dwyer.[3] Jallianwalla cost India 2,000 lives. "But suddenly the Prophet

1. Cited in Amritsar and Our Duty to India: B. G. Horniman, p. 133.
2. Ibid. p. 32.
3. Cited in India Old & New: Sir Valentine Chirol, pp. 184-185.

of Revolution (Gandhi) appeared to turn pale. He was shocked. He admitted that he had blundered; confessed that the blunder was 'Himalayan'."[1] At this time Gandhi was the top leader both of the Congress and the Home Rule League, and Jinnah was a member of both these organisations. However, in protest against a palpably wrong ruling by Gandhi from the Chair, Jinnah resigned from the Home Rule League on 3rd October, 1920. At the Nagpur Session of the Congress, Gandhi moved his resolution of non-cooperation, which was supported by most of the delegates. Jinnah rose to oppose the resolution, and as soon as he had said, "I rise to oppose the resolution....", hooting, shouting and catcalls drowned his voice. Like a brave man, he persisted and in the end succeeded in addressing that hostile gathering of fifty thousand. He had won their admiration as a brave fighter, but failed to win their vote. In a public meeting at Bombay, a few months after the Nagpur Session, Jinnah said, "I am sure he is taking the country to a wrong channel". After the Nagpur session, Jinnah resigned from the Congress. Jinnah was proving to be right, as he had said that in asking people to resort to non-violent non-cooperation, "we are forgetting human nature", as there were bloody riots, looting and arson all over the country. An all-parties conference was convened in Bombay in January 1922, with Jinnah as one of the three secretaries. This conference demanded the repeal of the Criminal Law Amendments, and the Seditious Meetings Act and demanded a Round Table Conference between the Government on the one hand and the Congress and the League on the other.

Mohammed Ali Jinnah had married Emibai in 1892, when he was only sixteen, and she died only a few months after their marriage, while he was a student in London. It was now 1917, and he was already fortyone, and had remained all along a bachelor after the death of his first wife. But in 1917, he fell in love with a very beautiful, young Parsi lady, Rattanbai, daughter of Sir Dinshaw and Lady Petit. They were married on 18th April, 1918, at Calcutta. "Miss Rattanbai, only daughter of Sir Dinshaw Petit, yesterday underwent conversion to Islam, and is today to be married to

1. I Follow The Mahatma: K. M. Munshi. pp. 6-7.

the Hon. M. A. Jinnah."[1] She was as beautiful as she was a talented and an accomplished person. "There is not a woman in the world today to hold a candle to her for beauty and charm."[2] Rattanbai bore Jinnah only one child, a daughter, Dina, who was born on 15th August, 1919. Rattanbai died in 1928. "Ruttie was keenly interested in all this political work of Jinnah, participated fully in the discussions and hoped that the country would get near to Swaraj."[3]

In 1923, seeking election to the Imperial Council from Bombay, the Quaid-e-Azam, in his election appeal wrote, "My sole object is to serve the cause of the community as best as I can." He was elected without a contest. In May 1924, an open session of the League was held at Lahore, at which the Quaid presided. In his presidential address he said, "Swaraj is interchangeable with Hindu-Muslim unity". Gandhi said in a separate statement, "I agree with Mr. Jinnah that Hindu-Muslim unity means Swaraj". In July, 1925 there were bloody communal riots in Delhi, Calcutta and Allahabad, and they continued to plague the political life of the country for many years subsequently. When in November 1927 the Secretary of State for India announced the appointment of the Simon Commission, which was to visit India and then submit its report, the Quaid protested angrily, as it did not include a single Indian. At his instance, a protest meeting was held in Bombay on 19th November, 1927, in which the Quaid moved a resolution which, *inter alia*, stated, "The Statutory Commission, which has been announced, is unacceptable to the peoples of India". The Simon Commission landed at Bombay on 3rd February, 1928, and it was greeted with black flag demonstrations, wherever it went. "Simon Go Back", was the slogan they heard in all the cities they visited. The Simon Commission left India on 31st March, 1928, empty-handed, boycotted not only politicially but also socially, their mission unaccomplished.

At the initiation of the Quaid, a meeting was convened of all the important Muslim leaders at Delhi on 20th March, 1927, which unanimously adopted a resolution, embodying the

1. The Statesman, Calcutta: 19-4-1918.
2. Jinnah: Hector Bolitho. p. 92 (Told to Hector Bolitho by Diwan Chimanlal).
3. Ruttie Jinnah. Kanji Dwarkadas, Bombay. p. 16

Muslim demands in so far as the new scheme of reforms was concerned. Praising the work of Quaid-e-Azam at this conference, M. C. Chagla said, "It was the magic wand that Jinnah alone can wield that brought about what seemed an impossible achievement". The Delhi resolution, which came to be known as "Muslim Proposals under the leadership of Jinnah", received a mixed reception among the Hindus. Ultimately, the Madras Session of the Congress referred them to a committee, known as the Nehru (Motilal) Committee. The Nehru Report went against the Delhi proposals, and the Muslim League rejected the Nehru Report at its Delhi Session in March, 1929, in which the Quaid-e-Azam enunciated his famous "Fourteen Points". In May of the same year, the Labour Party won the general elections and was asked to form the Government, with Ramsay MacDonald as Prime Minister. In October, Lord Irwin, the Viceroy of India, issued a statement that the British Government wanted to ascertain the opinion of Indian leaders on the future reforms, before it made its own decision regarding them. The Quaid, in a public statement, said, "We trust that the representatives of India who will be invited to meet His Majesty's Government will be such as will command the confidence of the people of India". The outcome of the Viceroy's statement was the convening of the Round Table Conferences in London, at the first of which the Quaid was invited to speak on behalf of the Muslims of India. In one of his opening speeches, on 20th November, 1930, he said, "I am glad we are here to witness the birth of a New Dominion of India.......There is not one section in India that has not emphatically declared that India must have a full measure of self-government.....The Mussalmans demand safeguards for their community". The Quaid-e-Azam played a dominant role at the First Round Table Conference in the interests of India in general, and on behalf of the Muslims in particular. Sarojini Naidu wrote about his work at the Round Table Conference, "Jinnah's extraordinary powers of persuasion, his luminous exposition, his searching arguments, and his impeccable judgement are revealed at their best, when he graces a committee with his august presence". "The Muslims very rightly followed and gave their full confidence to Jinnah."[1]

1. Memoirs of Aga Khan, p. 295.

After the First Round Table Conference, the Quaid decided to stay in England and practise before the Privy Council, giving up his political activities in India, temporarily.

The Quaid, however, returned to India in April, 1934, and was once again actively engaged in politics, and presiding over a meeting of the Council of the League in the same month, he said, "Muslims are in no way behind any other community in their demand for national self-government". In October 1934, he was again elected, without a contest, as Member of the Central Assembly, and leader of the Independent Party in the Assembly, most of whom were Muslims. On 7th February, 1935, he said in the Assembly, "I was not invited to the later sittings of the Round Table Conference, because I was the strongest opponent of the Federal Scheme." His Majesty's Government gave assent on 2nd July, 1935, to the Government of India Act, 1935. The Quaid commented in October 1935, "The constitution has been forced upon us". When the elections were to be fought in February 1937 under the Government of India Act, 1935, the Muslim League, under the leadership of the Quaid-e-Azam, for the first time in its history, constituted a Central Parliamentary Board to fight the elections. The Congress secured absolute majorities in five out of the eleven provinces, and the League did not fare so well, winning 108 out of 484 Muslim seats. The Congress assumed office in those provinces, and soon it was clear that the Congress had become intoxicated with the wine of power. Jawaharlal Nehru, its President, began to issue arrogant statements to the press, as if the Congress was the only party that mattered. The Quaid retorted, "He seems to carry the responsibility of the whole world on his shoulders and must poke his nose in everything, except minding his own business". The headquarters of the Muslim League went on receiving grievances from Muslims from all over India against the inequities and injustices perpetrated by Congress ministries on the Muslims in their respective provinces. On 20th March, 1928, the League appointed a committee to go into these grievances. The committee was headed by the Raja of Pirpur, and its report, known as the Pirpur Report, was a scathing condemnation of the Congress rule in all the provinces, where they

were in power. Subhas Chandra Bose was now the President of the Congress, and a lengthy correspondence was exchanged between him and the Quaid-e-Azam, who insisted that the two organisations could meet to settle outstanding disputes only on the basis that the League represents the Muslims and the Congress represents the Hindus. Bose wrote to the Quaid, "The Working Committee are not in a position to do anything further in the direction of starting negotiations with the League".[1] The last opportunity for a settlement of the Hindu-Muslim problem was missed. "Had the Congress handled the League more tactfully after the elections, Pakistan might never have come into being."[1] At this time, as always, Jawaharlal Nehru was playing a dominant role in the Congress and he said, "There are only two parties in the country—the Congress and the British". The Quaid thundered in protest, "No. There is a third party—the Mussalmans."

From now on the popularity of the Muslim League was spreading fast and wide, and it had become a powerful and well-organised mass political party. At the Lucknow Session in October, 1937, the League authorised its President, the Quaid-e-Azam, "to take all necessary steps to form a Muslim League Party in the Central Legislature," as also to set up such parties in provincial legislatures. The Muslims were on the march. They no longer looked upon themselves as a minority, which had to beg for safeguards and concessions. Due to differences with the Governors over the interpretation of the Act, Congress ministries resigned on 22nd October, 1939, and the Quaid called upon the Muslims to observe 22nd December, 1939, as "The Day of Deliverance". On 22nd March, 1940, the historic session of the Muslim League met in Lahore, with the Quaid-e-Azam in the chair, when the famous Pakistan Resolution was unanimously adopted, which, *inter alia*, stated, "The North-Western and Eastern Zones of India should be grouped to constitute 'Independent States', in which constitutent units shall be autonomous and sovereign. "After the Session, the Quaid told his Secretary, "Iqbal is no more among us. But had he been alive, he would have been happy to know that we did exactly what he wanted us to do."

1. Subhas Bose and His Ideas: Jagat S. Bright.

The Second World War had broken out in 1937, and in 1940 the fortunes of war were going heavily against the Allies, and there were forebodings about the future of India. On 8th August, 1940, the Viceroy made his offer, which has come to be known as "The August Offer". The Working Committee of the League, meeting in Bombay from 31st August to 2nd September, resolved, "The committee note with satisfaction that His Majesty's Government have, on the whole, practically met the demand of the Muslim League.... The Muslim League again makes its position clear that the Muslims of India are a nation by themselves." But in September of the same year, the League rejected the August offer. In the meantime Japan had entered the War against the allies, and this posed a real danger to the defence of India. The British Government was, therefore, most anxious to obtain the united support of all parties in pursuance of the war effort. The Working Committee of the League, meeting in December 1941 resolved that they were willing to shoulder the burden of the defence of the country, provided, "real share and responsibility is given in the authority of the Government in the centre and in the provinces". On 22nd March, 1942, Sir Stafford Cripps visited India on a political mission. Cripps made a declaration, which "went some way to meet the Muslim case, but not far enough. To the Congress minds, on the other hand, it went much too far."[1] The Muslim League resolved at Allahabad in April 1942, "While expressing their gratification that the possibility of Pakistan is recognised by implication .... regret that the proposals .. are not open to any modification ..... The Committee have no alternative, but to say that the proposals in their present form are unacceptable." On 24th December, 1943, presiding over the Karachi session of the League, the Quaid said, "We have got millions behind us, we have got our flag and our platform; and what is more, we have now definite goal of Pakistan .... You cannot break us......the British must divide and quit."

The Quaid, in spite of his advancing years and failing health, was covering the subcontinent like a storm on two legs, organising the Muslims, making them realise their ultimate destiny was Pakistan. Addressing Aligarh students on 10th March,

1. The Cripps Mission: R. Coupland, p. 36.

1944, he said, "We are getting nearer and nearer our goal." In order to resolve the deadlock between the Congress and the League, frequent meetings took place between the Quaid-e-Azam and Gandhi from 9th to 27th September, 1944, at the residence of the Quaid in Bombay. But the talks ended in failure, and the Quaid issued a statement, "I am convinced that the true welfare not only of Muslims but of the rest of India lies in the division of India, as proposed in the Lahore Resolution". Gandhi wrote, "Let it be a partition as between two brothers, if a division there must be". This showed that the Congress High Command was slowly veering round to accepting the inexorable logic of Pakistan. Explaining the reasons for the failure of the talks, Louis Fischer wrote, "The wall between Gandhi and Jinnah was the two-nation theory."[1]

The War was now going favourably for the Allies, and Lord Wavell, the Viceroy of India, sent a memorandum to His Majesty's Government, which the Government considered to be revolutionary in its concept. By this time, the Congress Party consolidated its position in the Central Assembly under the leadership of Bhulabhai Desai. Lord Wavell visited England, and on his return issued a statement that he was inviting a Conference of Indian leaders with a view to form an Executive Council, which would "include equal proportions of caste Hindus and Muslims." The conference that took place on 25th June, 1944, at Simla has come to be known as "The Simla Conference", and it failed to achieve its objective. "The Simla Conference afforded a last opportunity to the forces of nationalism to fight a rear-guard action to preserve the integrity of the country, and when the battle was lost the waves of communalism quickly engulfed it. Only the Hobson's choice of partition was left."[2]

While the Simla Conference was going on, the political scene in England was undergoing a change. The War Cabinet of Churchill handed over the seal of office to the Labour Prime Minister, Clement Attlee, and Lord Pethick Lawrence became the Secretary of State for India.

1. The Life of Mahatma Gandhi—Part II: Louis Fischer, p. 195.
2. The Transfer of Power in India: V. P. Menon, p. 215.

By the end of December 1945, elections were held for the Central Assembly, in which the League, fighting on the basis of Pakistan, won all the seats, securing 87 per cent of the Muslim votes cast. The Quaid declared that Muslims all over India would celebrate 11th January, 1946, as "Victory Day". In the beginning of 1946, the Quaid appointed an Election Committee of seven, with myself as its Secretary, to run the elections of all the 35 Muslim seats for the Sind Legislative Assembly. The only Muslim woman's seat was won, without a contest, by Mrs. Jenubai G. Allana, and we were confident of winning over 30 other seats, the most difficult seemed to be the Dadu constitutency, where the League nominee, Kazi Muhammad Akbar of Hyderabad, was contesting against the sitting member G. M. Syed, a powerful Syed and Pir of the District. The Quaid had given me enough money to help our candidates, and once again gave me some more money on his second visit to Karachi, about two weeks before the elections. He said it was important that we win in the constituency of G. M. Syed, as the whole of India was watching the result of that election with great interest. He gave me parting advice, "Although the elections are crucial, yet you should see to it that we do not resort to dishonest methods..... I do not want you to bribe the voters. That I will never forgive......That is dishonesty. I prefer defeat to dishonesty." I followed the Quaid's instructions to the letter, and we won all the Muslim seats in the Sind Assembly.

On 24th March, 1946, the Cabinet Mission reached India. On 4th April, the Quaid met the members of the Mission in Delhi. In order to demonstrate to the Mission that entire Muslim India was behind the demand for Pakistan, the Quaid called a meeting of all Muslim members of the Central and Provincial Assemblies, who had been returned on the League ticket. The convention started its deliberations on 9th April, 1946, and H. S. Suhrawardhy moved the main resolution, which was unanimously adopted, saying that Pakistan was the only salvation for the Muslims of India. At the end of the convention, the Quaid said, "Without political power, how can you defend your faith and your economic life?"

The Cabinet Mission called a conference at Simla on 5th May of four League nominees, headed by the Quaid, and four

Congress nominees. On the 15th, the Cabinet Mission issued a statement, which was virtually an apology for their failure.

On 6th June, 1946, the Quaid convened a meeting of the Council of the League in Delhi to take momentous decisions. It resolved that the scheme of the Cabinet Mission accepted by implication the Pakistan Scheme, that the Muslim League should work in the constitution-making body, and withdraw, if subsequent events warranted the taking of such a step. The Working Committee of the League decided to observe 16th August, 1946, as "Direct Action Day". The communal situation in the country was fast deteriorating and mass killings were the order of the day. Witnessing the tragedy of the Muslims of Bihar, "he (Gandhi) confessed he was shaken in his belief in the plighted word of the Bihari Hindus after what he had seen that morning."[1] On 25th October, 1946, the Muslim League decided to enter the Interim Cabinet at the Centre. With the entry of League nominees in the Interim Government, Pakistan seemed well within the grasp of Muslim India. "What was indistinct appears now in full glow, and what was nameless has taken a name."[2] On 2nd December, 1946, in response to an invitation received, the Quaid, Liaquat Ali Khan, Jawaharlal Nehru and Baldev Singh reached London to hold talks with the Secretary of State regarding India's political future. The talks did not succeed, and on 20th February, 1947, Prime Minister Attlee issued a statement saying, "It is our definite intention.... to effect the transfer of power to responsible Indian hands by a date not later than June, 1948."

On 24th March 1947, Lord Mountbatten took over as the Viceroy of India from Lord Wavell, specifically charged with the task of handing over power in India by June 1948. The new Viceroy invited the Quaid and Gandhi for talks, as a result of which both issued an appeal to stop communal riots. At a private dinner to the Quaid and his sister, Miss Fatima Jinnah, the Quaid said, "The Congress want to inherit everything, they would even accept Dominion Status to deprive me of Pakistan."[3] The Viceroy went to England for personal talks,

1. Mahatma Gandhi—The Last Phase: Pyarelal, p. 672.
2. Pakistan or Partition of India: B. R. Ambedkar, p. 334.
3. Mission with Mountbatten: Alan Campbell-Johnson, p. 56.

and armed with the views of His Majesty's Government, returned to Delhi on 31st May, 1947. The Viceroy obtained the consent of all parties to what is now known as the 3rd June 1947 Plan, and the Quaid explained from the Delhi Station of All-India Radio the Muslim League point of view regarding this plan, at the end of which, he said, outside his written text, "Pakistan Zindabad". The Council of the League, meeting on 9th June, expressed approval of the Cabinet Mission Plan, and authorised the Quaid to negotiate on behalf of the League.

In the meantime it was decided that the British would hand over power in India on 15th August, 1947, and His Majesty's Government got busy drafting the Indian Independence Bill to place before the Parliament for approval. While the Congress decided that Lord Mountbatten would continue to be India's first Governor-General, the Muslim League unanimously resolved that Quaid-e-Azam would be the first Governor-General of Pakistan. The Indian Independence Bill, introduced in the Parliament on 4th July, 1947, was adopted on 15th July, and received the Royal Assent on 18th July. Power was to be transferred to India and Pakistan on 15th August, 1947.

The question of drawing up the boundaries of the Punjab and Bengal was referred to two Boundary Commissions, of both of which Sir Cyril Radcliffe was appointed Chairman. The Hindu and Muslim members of the two Commissions did not agree among themselves, and Radcliff gave his infamous Radcliffe Award, whereby many parts of the Punjab which should have come to Pakistan, according to the terms of reference of the Commission, were dishonestly given to India. There was referendum both in the North-Western Frontier Province and in Sylhet, a District of Assam, both of which overwhelmingly voted for Pakistan.

The events of the last few years had crowded the life of the Quaid with one glorious chapter after another, his immortality in the pages of history having been assured in his lifetime. "The Quaid-e-Azam's brilliant and epoch-making career, so untimely ended, reached its summit in these momentous years of 1946 and 1947. Now he belongs to history; and his memory is imperishable. Of all the statesmen

that I have known in my life—Clemenceau, Lloyd George, Churchill, Curzon, Mussolini, Mahatma Gandhi—Jinnah is the most remarkable. None of these men in my view outshone him in strenght of character, and that almost uncanny combination of pre-science and resolution which is statecraft."[1]

On 5th August, 1947, Lord Mountbatten had a private meeting with the Quaid-e-Azam. Two days later, the Quaid left Delhi and flew into Karachi, where he was born seventyone years ago, to take up his responsibilities as the first Governor-General of Pakistan. On the 11th, the Constituent Assembly of Pakistan met for the first time in Karachi, and all of us in the galleries felt we were witnessing the first words being written on the first page of the history of a newly born independent country, Pakistan. The Assembly unanimously elected the Quaid as its President. Liaquat Ali Khan moved a resolution, which was adopted amidst thunderous applause conferring on M. A. Jinnah the title of "Quaid-e-Azam". On the 13th, Lord Mountbatten flew into Karachi. On 14th August, 1947, the Quaid, accompanied by Miss Fatima Jinnah, drove in State to the Assembly building, where Lord Mountbatten, on behalf of His Majesty's Government, handed over power to the Quaid in a symbolic ceremony. To us, Pakistanis, it was our day of independence; to the Quaid, it was the day of fulfilment. He knew the destination had been reached, but the struggle was by no means over.

During the few months, preceding partition, there had been terrible Hindu-Muslim riots, resulting in enormous casualties on both sides. The air was still thick with communal frenzy. The suffering of the Muslims can be imagined from what Maulana Abul Kalam Azad writes about Delhi Muslims, "I found the Muslims completely demoralised and suffering from a sense of utter helplessness. . . . .Their life and property were no longer safe. . . ."[2] "Gandhi was horrified by the gory spectacle which the capital presented."[3] India had played a dishonourable role over the question of the future accession of Kashmir, and the Muslims of that unhappy valley groaned under the boots of the Dogra and Indian

1. Memoirs of Aga Khan, p. 292.
2. India Wins Freedom: Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, pp. 209. to 216.
3. Jawaharlal Nehru: Frank Moraes, p. 341.

soldiers. The atrocious anti-Muslim attitude of India in Hyderabad, Deccan. had wounded the sentiments of Pakistan. Through fraud, aided by military action, India had usurped Junagadh, Manavadhar, and Mangrol. Pakistan was starting from scratch, and India was doing everything it could to make Pakistan's life impossible. Pakistan had to be up on her feet. All these were stupendous tasks, and they weighed heavily on the Quaid's mind, who was past his prime and in a poor state of health.

In June, 1948, exhausted and worn out, he left Karachi, under doctors' advice, for rest at Quetta. On 1st July, 1948, he performed the opening ceremony of the State Bank of Pakistan, and we who heard him on that occasion were shocked to observe the poor state of his health. After five days' stay in Karachi, he returned to Quetta, from where he was removed to Ziarat after some days. Towards the end of July, his condition gave cause for serious anxiety, and Col. Ilahi Bux, an eminent physician of Lahore, was called to be in attendance on him. The doctors, on examination, found he was suffering from an infection of the lungs. They said he must have been suffering from it for over two years, but he just did not have time to consult doctors and look after his health, he was so much absorbed in his work for the Muslims of India. On 13th August, there was a swelling on his feet, and his blood pressure was very low. The doctors got him removed to Quetta. In the first days of September, the doctors found he had very little chance of survivial. On 11th September, 1948, he was flown in a Viking from Quetta to Karachi. At about ten, the same night, while sleeping peacefully in his bed in the Governor-General's House in Karachi, he breathed his last.

I was among the first to arrive. As I looked at the plain white sheet of cloth that covered his body, I realised that the nation, hardly one year old, had been orphaned on that day. I realised the greatest political leader that the Muslims of this subcontinent had produced had passed away. He left us at a time, when we needed him so much.

HIS HIGHNESS THE AGA KHAN

(1877—1957)

Sultan Mahomed Shah, generally known as His Royal Highness Prince Aga Khan III, came from a very illustrious family, which has left its mark in the pages of history. "Our family claims direct descent from the Prophet Mohammad through his daughter Fatima and his beloved son-in-law Ali; and we are also descended from the Fatimite Caliphs of Egypt."[1] He was eminently suited, by virtue of his noble descent, to take a leading part in the service of Islam, and he did spend a lifetime rendering yeoman services to the Muslims of India and of the world. "Direct descendant of the Prophet Mohammad and spiritual head of millions of Ismailians..... Bluest of blue blood flows in his veins...... He is a Prince descended from the Arab family of Hasham and the tribe of Koraish, much older than the Bourbons and the Brunswicks in Europe. He embodies the spirit of those who made famous in history and in legend Toledo, Cairo, Cordova, and Baghdad."[2] Born in India at a time when nationalism was the moving spirit behind Indian public life, he developed from an early age, paradoxically speaking, an international outlook. "He has not confined himself to the narrow outlook of nationalism. He has recognised that these are days of internationalism, and this has broadened his sphere of activities, gaining him a reputation as a remarkable personality of note such as no Asiatic has so far achieved or has even aspired to achieve."[3] His position in life and his influence with many outstanding figures of the international contemporary political scene have succeeded in leaving a legendary memory of his life and work. "Lloyd George said that the Aga Khan was

1. The Memoirs of Aga Khan, p. 7.
2. The Aga Khan and His Ancestors: Naoroji Dumasia, p. 5.
3. Ibid. p.7.

one of the best informed men he had ever met. His general information was astonishing. He was extraordinarily well read and possessed an intimate acquaintance with international affairs in all parts of the world. He was widely travelled and was always running round the capitals of Europe, in all of which he had influential intimates. His means of securing information were remarkable. He seemed to have touched upon all branches of literature and to be well versed in science. Altogether a very extraordinary person."[1]

The history of the Aga Khan family in India begins from the year 1842, when his grandfather, Aga Khan I, Aga Hasan Aly Shah, reached Sind with his band of followers from Kandhar, as a political refugee. He had married the daughter of the Shah of Iran and was the Governor of Qum and Mehallat. His rapid rise to eminence, which culminated in his being appointed as Commander-in-Chief, roused the jealousy of many ministers and members of the royal family. His bitterest enemy was the Prime Minister, whose open hostility had compelled him to resort to open rebellion in self-defence. But, faced with overpowering odds, he thought it safer to leave the country, and with this end in view he left Persia for Afghanistan with his family and those of his trusted soldiers as were prepared to put their faith in his future fortune as a soldier Prince. After staying in Afghanistan for some time, he and his retinue arrived in Sind. The Shah of Persia was alarmed at the presence of the powerful Aga Khan in Sind, which is near the borders of Persia, and the Government of Persia protested to the British and requested them to remove him to a place far from their borders. The British yielded, and Aga Khan I set out for Bombay on 7th October, 1844. On the insistence of the Government of Persia, he was asked to leave Bombay and to settle down in Calcutta, to which he reluctantly agreed. But in November 1848, it was agreed that he could return to Bombay, an offer which he readily accepted and made Bombay his permanent home thereafter. He died in April 1881 and was buried at Hasanabad in Bombay.

He was succeeded by his eldest son, Aly Shah, who on assuming his father's responsibilities came to be invested with

1. Intimate Diary of The Peace Conference and After: Lord Riddell.

the title of Aga Khan II. Educated under eminent scholars of Persian and Arabic, he learnt the Holy Quran and became proficient in the two languages. He helped to organise the Muslims of Bombay, and when the Bombay Mohammadan National Association was formed, he was elected its first president. This marks the first event when the Aga Khan family began to take interest and identify themselves with public affairs of the land of their residence. He married a grand-daughter of Shah Fateh Aly Shah, who was a niece of Shah Mohamad Aly of the Kijar dynasty of Persia and a daughter of Nizamuddaullah, a powerful nobleman in the Persian Court. While he and Lady Aly Shah were on a brief visit to Karachi, they were staying in their house known as Tekri or Honeymoon Lodge on the outskirts of Karachi, a son was born on 2nd November, 1877, whom they named Sultan Mahemad Shah. Eight years later, Ali Shah died an untimely death.

Sultan Mahamed Shah succeeded his father as Aga Khan III, when he was only eight years old. Heavy responsibilities fell on his slender shoulders at that young age, and he found himself suddenly confronted with the task of taking many difficult decisions on intricate problems. Fortunately for him, his mother, Lady Aly Shah, was a gifted and farsighted lady. She managed the estate and properties of her son, "and made sound investments which augmented the Aga Khan's wealth which she passed on to her son when he came of age."[1] She engaged the best *ulema* to teach the Holy Quran to her son, as also well known professors of Persian and Arabic to teach him the literature of these two languages. It was this thorough grounding in Islamic studies and Islamic literature and history that was to mark out the Aga Khan as a man deeply versed in oriental lore, in spite of decades that he lived in the West. Lady Aly Shah died in 1938 and, in accordance with her wishes, she was buried at Najaf by the side of her husband. On her death, the Aga Khan wrote to a friend, "She had been to me more than father and mother combined, since I lost my father at the age of eight."[2]

1. The Aga Khan and His Ancestors: Naroji Dumasia, p. 63.
2. Ibid.

As a young student, the Aga Khan showed special aptitude for philosophy, theology and Persian poetry, his favourite poets being Saadi, Firdausi, Omar Khayam, Hafiz, Maulana Rumi and Jami. He wrote, "In the halcyon days of Persia's intellectual renaissance after the Arab conquest, the Middle East is said to have produced more poets than the whole of medieval Europe." In the late nineties, he went to Europe for the first time. Later in life, in a reminiscent mood, he said, "At that time I had the honour of going to Windsor Castle, while Queen Victoria was on the throne........She decorated me with the K.C.I.E. I stayed the night at Windsor ....I first met King Edward at Epsom races in the spring of 1898......He immediately proposed to me for membership of the Marlborough Club which, in those days, meant entering the King's own exclusive set." By his charming manners, his deep erudition, his profound knowledge of international affairs, added to the fact that he came from one of the most illustrious families of Islam, he won many friends and admirers. The press frequently interviewed him, asking him questions on Indian affairs, with special reference to the point of view of the Muslims of India. He received many favourable comments from press critics and from leaders of public life in England. "I am hopeful that during the next half century the Aga Khan will play that part in directing the destinies of the world of Islam for which his position and abilities so eminently qualify him."[1]

In 1902, at the age of twentyfive, because of his devoted services to the cause of Muslim education, the Viceroy, Lord Curzon, appointed him as a member of the Imperial Legislative Council, and he thus became the youngest member of the Council. His speeches in the Council clearly marked him out as a political leader of great promise, and he became for many years thereafter the leader and the champion of many educational and political causes advocated by the Muslims of India. He soon realised that the main cause of the political backwardness of the Muslims was due to their neglect of education, and to spread education among Muslims became from now on the most important part of his life's mission. Sir

1. Sir Theodore Morison.

Syed Ahmed had started the great Aligarh movement, and in it the Aga Khan believed lay the salvation of the future of his coreligionists. In the same year that he became a member of the Imperial Legislative Council, he was asked to preside over the Mohammadan Educational Conference being held at Delhi in 1902. In his presidential address he said that the clearest way by which the decay of political power of the Muslims of India could be halted was by laying the foundation of a great central Muslim University at Aligarh. That, he said, would be a fitting tribute to Sir Syed Ahmed, the father of Muslim educational renaissance. "We want to create for our people an intellectual capital—a city that shall be a home of elevated ideas and high ideals, a centre from which light and guidance shall be diffused amongst the Muslims of India and out of India too, and shall hold up to the world model standard of justice and virtue and purity of our beloved faith." Addressing the annual session of the Muslim Educational Conference in 1904 in Bombay, he said, "The farsighted among the Muslims of India desire a University where the standard of learning should be the highest and where with scientific training there shall be that moral education, that indirect but constant reminder of the eternal difference between right and wrong, which is the soul of education. . . . . I earnestly beg of you that the cause of such a university should not be forgotten in the shouts of the marketplace that daily rise amongst us."

The dream of Sir Syed Ahmed of founding a university at Aligarh was now very much a popular demand amongst the Muslims of India. In 1911, the Aga Khan took upon himself the task of collecting funds to start the university, "whose sons shall go forth throughout the length and breadth of the land to preach the goal of free inquiry, of large-hearted toleration and of pure morality." A year earlier, in reply to an address of welcome by the trustees of the M.A.O. College, he had said that he would undertake the responsibility to "build a mighty university worthy of Islam in India." He increased the annual grant that he had been giving to the college for the last many years, and promised to himself contribute a substantial amount to the university funds. He donated money in cash for a scholarship to the most deserving

student for foreign studies, which the trustees named "Aga Khan Foreign Scholarship." The committee that was constituted in 1911 for collecting funds for the University had the Aga Khan as its chairman. "As a mendicant I am now going out to beg from house to house and from street to street for the children of Muslim India." While addressing a gathering to collect funds for Aligarh University, people rushed to the dais to lift him on their shoulders in demonstration of their gratitude. "Among the foremost, giving vent to their adoration were young men whose names later became famous in Muslim India, men like the great poet Iqbal and Dr. Ziauddin."[1] He announced a personal donation of rupees one hundred thousand, and the committee headed by him, and with Maulana Shaukat Ali as his secretary, visited many cities of India, collecting funds for the University. Wherever they went, they received spontaneous and tumultuous welcome from the Muslims. "Unparalleled welcome awaited His Highness, when he visited Lahore in his drive for funds. The horses which came to drive his carriage were unharnessed and the carriage was drawn for miles by his enthusiastic admirers, who had flocked in their thousands to receive him at the railway station."[2]

His untiring efforts bore fruit, and he was able to collect rupees three million for the University, and thus came to be laid a sure foundation for the future Aligarh University. "The Aligarh University will remain a living monument to Prince Aga Khan's educational activities in the interests of Islam. One may very well assert that without him, the M.A.O. College at Aligarh would never have evolved into a Muslim University, and there would have been no adequate means of maintaining Islamic culture in India."[3] Paying tribute to the work done by the Aga Khan for Aligarh, Maulana Shibli wrote, "That which could not be achieved by six crore Muslims was accomplished by Prince Aga Khan." When the Aga Khan visited Aligarh in 1936, Dr. Ziauddin, the Vice-Chancellor, in his welcome address said, "It must be a matter of real satisfaction to Your Highness that most of the expansion and development

1. H. R. H. Prince Aga Khan: Qayyum A. Malick, p. 63.
2. Ibid. p. 63.
3. Ibid. p. 60.

of the University are in a large measure due to Your Highness' patronage and active support. The great founder of this institution, Sir Sayed Ahmed Khan, expressed the hope that this institution would develop into a University, but the realisation of the founder's dream is precisely due to Your Highness, who worked for it with the zeal of a missionary. Your Highness infused a new life into the Aligarh movement by touring the whole of India to collect funds for the establishment of the Muslim University. It was mainly due to Your Highness' stupendous efforts that we have since been able to realise a sum of seventy lakh from various sources, and by carefully husbanding this amount we have been able to build up several important departments of our University." In a a reminiscent mood, the Aga Khan, recalling his speech delivered at Aligarh some fifty years ago, wrote, "The aspirations which I cherished from the outset on behalf of Aligarh, I have been happy to live to see fulfilled."[1]

Sir Syed Ahmed was the pioneer in the cause of our educational renaissance. But with the appearance in 1885 of the All-India National Congress as a political party dominated by the Hindus, and having considerable influence with the British Government, it was being gradually realised that the Muslims must also work to bring about a political wakening among their own people. Sir Syed Ahmed had warned the Muslims to keep away from the Congress, and often issued statements saying that the Congress did not represent the Muslims. As a result of his efforts, supported by his colleagues, in 1905 the number of Muslim delegates that attended the annual session of the Congress in Benares was only 17 out of a total of 756. Just then it was expected that the British Government would introduce new reforms for India, and politically conscious Muslim leaders began to meet in order to take stock of the situation. Finally, it was decided that there should be a meeting of Muslim leaders in Bombay. At this meeting, every one condemned the then existing method of joint elections, whereby Muslims were deprived of adequate and the right type of representation. The concept evolved of separate elections for Muslims and this was adopted as the main demand of the Muslims of India. Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk

1. The Memoirs of Aga Khan, p. 78.

was authorised to organise a deputation and to nominate its leader, so that the deputation may present a memorandum to the Viceroy. "He selected 35 leading Mussalmans from different parts of India and proposed the name of His Highness the Aga Khan for leadership of the deputation. His Highness was on his way to China, but at Mohsin-ul-Mulk's request, he broke journey at Colombo and then came to Simla to lead the deputation which was received by the Viceroy on 1st October 1906".[1]

The address was presented to the Viceroy and read on behalf of the Muslims by the Aga Khan. "We, therefore, desire to submit that under any system of representation, extended or limited, a community in itself more numerous than the entire population of any first class European power except Russia may justly lay claim to adequate recognition as an important factor in the State..... We venture.... and urge that the position accorded to the Mohammadan community in any kind of representation, direct or indirect... should be commensurate, not merely with their numerical strength, but also with their political importance and the value of the contribution which they make to the defence of the empire ..... We Mohammadans are a distinct community with additional interests of our own, which are not shared by other communities..... We are convinced that our aspirations as a community and our future progress are largely dependent on the foundation of a Mohammadan University.... We pray that Your Excellency will take steps to help us in our undertaking in which our community is so deeply interested." Recalling in his *Memoirs* the work of the deputation, His Highness wrote that the deputation asked that the Muslims of India should not be regarded as a mere minority, but as a nation within a nation, whose rights and obligations should be guaranteed by statute," and this was sought to be achieved through adequate and separate representation for Muslims both on local bodies and in legislative councils."[2]

The Viceroy's reply conveyed words and sentiments of assurance to the leaders of the Muslim community. Referring to the demand for separate electorates and adequate repre-

1. Muslim Political Movement: Jamiluddin Ahmed, 1963, p. 30.
2. The Memoirs of Aga Khan: p. 123.

sentation, the Viceroy said, "The points which you have raised are before the Committee, which, as you know, I have lately appointed to consider the question of representation, and I will take care that your address is submitted to them." Reassuring as the reply of the Viceroy had been on 1st October, the Aga Khan wrote a letter on 24th October from Calcutta to Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk :

My dear Nawab Sahib,

Perhaps I may be allowed as one, who took part in the recent deputation to H. E. The Viceroy to make a few suggestions as to the future. The whole of the Mohamadan community has taken the keenest interest in the movement and look to us to try our best to secure that the objects which were set forth in the address may be ultimately secured.

It may be well that provincial associations should be formed with the aim of safeguarding the political interests of Mohamadans in the various portions of India, and similarly some Central organisation for the whole......

Please circulate my letter among the members of the deputation.

I am
My dear Nawab Sahib,
Sincerely yours,
Sd. Aga Khan. [1]

On 30th December, 1906, the All-India Muslim Educational Conference met at Dacca under the chairmanship of Nawab Salimullah Khan of Dacca. His Highness' letter addressed to Nawab Mohsin-ul-Mulk had been already circulated, suggesting the formation of a political party for the Muslims of India. It was resolved, "That a political association, styled The India Muslim League be formed...." The objects of the League were to be to protect and advance the political rights and interests of the Muslims of India. His Highness the Aga

1. Mohsin-ul-Mulk Papers: Muslim University Library.

Khan was elected the first President of the League and continued to hold this post until 1912, when he submitted his resignation. It must be noted here that the work of the deputation led by the Aga Khan bore fruit, and in the Morley-Minto Reforms of 1909 it was conceded that Muslims should henceforth be elected on the basis of separate electorates. The principle of separate electorates having been accepted, the demand for a separate homeland for Muslims as a separate nation was to become inevitable in the course of time. There was organised opposition to separate electorates from the Hindus, and the Aga Khan, presiding over the annual session of the Muslim League in 1910 in Delhi said, "Now that the Reforms Scheme is actually in active operation... it is in the interests of Indians—Hindus and Muslims, Christians and Parsis alike—to accept the Reforms in a spirit of cordial appreciation."

The Aga Khan had by now come to be recognised as an outstanding leader of the Muslims of India. On 10th January, 1910, the Muslims of Bombay gave a reception in his honour at the Anjuman-e-Islam Hall, and the address presented to him referred to his single-minded devotion to the cause of Muslim progress, social and political, and claimed that his efforts had met with resounding success, and they would be justified in hoping as a result of it that the future of Muslim India had been secured. "Your munificence and liberality in the cause of Muslim education have won for Your Highness the love and esteem of every true Muslim."

In 1910, the Muslim League and the Congress were very cordial to one another, and the leaders of both the parties belived that the future of India could be assured through Hindu-Muslim unity. His Highness subscribed to this point of view and in his capacity as President of the League worked in that direction. This brought on him the anger of the Anglo-Indian Press, and Bishan Narayan Dhar, presiding over the Congress session in 1911 at Calcutta, said, "When, under the advice of Sir W. Wedderburn and H. H. The Aga Khan, the representatives of the two communities were about to meet at Allahabad a year ago, with the object of reconciling their differences, an Anglo-Indian paper which is believed to be an organ of the Civil Service, remarked : 'Why do these

men want to unite the two communities, if it is not to unite them against the Government?' This one remark throws a ghastly light upon the political situation in India."[1]

In 1918, on the eve of the Montague-Chelmsford Reforms, His Highness wrote a book, *India In Transition*, in which he dealt at great length on the need of reforms in India, and the rightful entitlement of the Muslims of India in any future scheme of Reforms. He recorded, "If the British.... were to fail in this their greatest task, Southern Asia would become the theatre of one of the heaviest disasters humanity has faced .....We have to recognise the existence of internal forces in India proper and in the neighbouring states and principalities that render a policy of standing still or merely of nominal concession a practical impossibility, since it would work disaster, in the long run, alike for Britain and for India.... Thus we want in India not only social and economic, but also political advancement, without which the former cannot be brought to fruitful maturity."[2]

The Armistice, terminating the First World War, was signed in 1918, and it was evident that not only Turkey but some other Muslim states were threatened with dismemberment. The Aga Khan, realising this threat to Islam, did everything in his power to arrest this disaster. "The part he played at this most critical juncture in the history of Europe as a champion of peace and of the Islamic States drew by his great courage and independence the admiration of right thinking men."[3] In a letter to *The Times* of London in August 1919, signed jointly by the Aga Khan and Syed Ameer Ali, they wrote "At this critical period, we regard it our duty .... to plead once more for a considerate hearing at the Peace Conference of the Muslim case on behalf of Turkey.....It remains, therefore, for England to satisfy the associated powers that the wholesale destruction of Turkey is not compatible with the interests of her Empire or her good faith towards the vast millions of her Muslim subjects.... what do the Muslims want; what do we plead for.......That the pledge the Prime

1. The History of the Congress: B. Pattabhi Sitaramaya. p. 73.
2. India in Transition: H. H. The Aga Khan.
3. The Aga Khan and His Ancestors: Naoroji Dumasia, p. 151.

Minister in the name of England gave to the world, and in particular to the world of Islam, should be maintained...." Four months later, at a dinner given in honour of Edwin Montagu, the Aga Khan said, "The day has passed and will never return, when Indians were content to shut their eyes to, and had no influence upon, Asiatic foreign policy. To Muslims, the problems I have named, taking as they do religious and social sentiments, are so near that they cannot be called in reality foreign questions...." At this period of history, the Aga Khan was in the forefront of all causes that championed the claims of sovereignty of Muslim countries. He believed that the Muslims of the world were bound by a common bond of brotherhood, and that they must help one another in case of need and difficulty. He, like many other Muslim leaders before him, did not believe in political Pan-Islamism, but he had an unshakable faith in the religious and cultural unity of the world of Islam. In 1918 he wrote, "Political Pan-Islamism had its foundations on sand, and could not endure. There is a right and legitimate Pan-Islamism to which every sincere and believing Mohamadan belongs—that is the theory of the spiritual brotherhood and unity of the children of the Prophet........It connotes charity and goodwill toward fellow-believers everywhere from China to Morocco, from the Volga to Singapore......The real and cultural unity of Islam must ever grow, for to the follower of the Prophet it is the foundation of the life of the soul."[1]

The Aga Khan clearly saw that Britain was bent on dismembering Muslim States to suit her Imperial foreign policy. In the early twenties, he led a delegation of important Indian Muslim leaders to the Prime Minister, Lloyd George, pleading for the return to Turkey of Smyrna and Thrace, which had been occupied by the Greeks. Hasan Imam and Mushir Husain Kidwai were among the members of this delegation. They argued at great length with Lloyd George the case of the Turks, but the Prime Minister began to parry their questions and to avoid being confronted with historic pledges given to the Turks at a time when Britain was in difficulty. But when he found himself cornered, he tried to find escape by pleading helplessness, "What can we do? Now that the

1. India in Transition: H. H. The Aga Khan, pp. 156-157.

Greeks are in military ypossession of Smyrna and Thrace, who can turn them out from there?" The Aga Khan was equal to the occasion. Raising his voice, he impatiently retorted, "Well, Mr. Prime Minister, old though I am, I will go sword in hand and turn the Greeks out. We will charter ships. We will do everything to help the Turks. Leave the Greeks to us." Lloyd George was taken aback at this sudden and unexpected outburst of downright condemnation of British policy, a statement that was scornful of the helplessness expressed by the British Prime Minister. Lloyd George meekly murmured, "No, no, no. We cannot do that." Commenting on this incident, Mushir Husain Kidwai wrote, "The Aga Khan was a true Muslim, overpowered by the love of Islam. The blood of the Prophet in his veins made him speak out those words. These indicated that he was ready, sincerely ready, to give up his wealth, his position, his very life, for Islam".

The Aga Khan had established that he was among the foremost fighters for the cause of the Muslims of India and of the world. His efforts continued unabated to prevent the recurrence of a second war with Turkey, and this won him the admiration of Muslim India. On 5th February, 1924, a resolution was unanimously adopted in the Council of State, requesting "the Government of India to convey to the Norwegian President the view of this House that His Highness Sir Sultan Mahamed Shah, Aga Khan, G.C.S.I., G.C.V.O., LL.D., is a fit and proper person to be awarded the Nobel Prize for Peace this year, in view of the strenuous efforts that His Highness has made to maintain peace between Turkey and the Western Powers since the Armistice".

In 1928 the Muslims of India stood at the crossroads of history. The unity forged by Muslim stalwarts had been broken, and two warring parties came to the forefront, each claiming to speak on behalf of the Muslims of India. The situation was fraught with dangerous and far-reaching consequences. Frantic telegrams were sent to the Aga Khan, who was sick in bed. But he could not refuse to do his duty by his people and so in December 1928, he rushed back to India from Europe. The All-parties Muslim Conference met in Delhi on 1st January, 1929, with the Aga Khan in the chair. "The all-parties Muslim Conference was probably the

most representative Muslim gathering since the Simla Deputation, and included the representatives, amongst others, of the Khilafat Conference, the Jamiat-ul-Ulema, and the all-India Muslim League (both Jinnah and Shafi sections)."[1] In his presidential address the Aga Khan advised Muslim leaders to close their ranks, to sink their differences, and to join hands in the cause of protecting the interests of their country. He said, "India as a whole cannot be a prosperous or self-governing country, if such a large and important section of the community as the Muslim remain in doubt as to whether their cultural entity is safe or not.....You must avoid forcing your own preferences. when they clash with what we believe to be the real wishes of the mass of our people..... I can safely say that the overwhelming majority of India are determined to maintain their cultural unity and remain culturally interrelalated with the Muslims of the world."

The years after World War I had ushered in a new era in the field of political awakening among Indians, and by 1930 a stage had been reached when Britain realised that she must concede to India a large measure of political reforms, in order to keep her as a willing partner in the British Empire. To this end the First Round Table Conference was summoned in London and its first sitting took place on 12th November, 1930. The Congress boycotted it, while the other communities of India were represented by delegates selected by the British, among the Muslim leaders being Quaid-e-Azam, the Aga Khan, Sir Mohd. Shafi, Maulana Mohammad Ali and Maulvi Fazlul Haq. The entire British Indian delegation, comprising representatives of all communities and parties, elected the Aga Khan as their leader and spokesman, an honour that also fell to his lot at the time of the Second Round Table Conference and the Joint Select Committee.

"At the Round Table Conference, the Muslim leadership passed to His Highness the Aga Khan..... He played his cards remarkably well, and with his suavity of manners and tact, and general attitude of helpfulness kept the Muslim team solidly together—which was in visible contrast to the many and discordant voices, which spoke from the other camp."[2]

1. Makers of Pakistan: Al-Biruni, p. 206.
2. Ibid. p. 207.

The Congress sent Gandhi as their sole representative to the Second Round Table Conference. During all these protracted deliberations, the Aga Khan rose to great heights as a political leader of consummate skill, a patient and skilful negotiator, and a gifted and far-sighted statesman. Commenting on his work as the leader of the Muslims at the Round Table Conferences, Dr. Shafat Ahmed Khan wrote in 1932, "The Aga Khan is the greatest Muslim leader in Asia". On 15th December, 1932, the national League held a meeting in London in Committee Room No. 10 of the Parliament building. In this meeting Allama Iqbal, speaking on the role of the Aga Khan at the Round Table Conferences said, "We have placed these demands before the Conference under the guidance of His Highness the Aga Khan, that worthy statesmen whom we all admire and whom the Muslims of India love for the blood that runs through his veins".[1]

On 26th November, 1933, the annual session of the Muslim League, meeting in Delhi, considered a letter of some Muslim leaders of the Punjab addressed to its President, suggesting that a convention of all Muslim leaders be held, with the help of Quaid-e-Azam and His Highness who were about to come to India from England. It was resolved, "That advantage should be taken of the expected presence in this country of H. H. the Aga Khan and Mr. M. A. Jinnah to hold a convention at some suitable place for the purpose of bringing about unity and to accept at all times and under all circumstances the guidance and advice of such renowned and trusted leaders of the country as the two abovenamed gentlemen, and authorises the Council to take such steps in this direction as may be possible and desirable in consultation with H. H. The Aga Khan and Mr. M. A. Jinnah."

The Aga Khan was nominated to represent India in 1932 at the League of Nations, and thereafter for the subsequent years, until the outbreak of the Second World War. In recognition of his excellent work as a world statesman of great stature, he was unanimously elected President of the League of Nations in July 1937, all the 49 valid votes that were cast in a secret ballot were found to be in his favour. He was the only Asian to have been elected to that high office.

1. Letters and Writings of Iqbal: B. A. Dar, Iqbal Acadamy, Karachi. 1967, p. 72.

Although Aligarh University had been firmly established and was now going from strength to strength, the Aga Khan did not lose his interest in it and continued to support the cause of Aligarh. On 15th February, 1936, the Vice-Chancellor of the University presented to him an address of welcome, in which he said, "You are the most respected, the most accomplished and the most trusted leader of the Muslim community, but also a great statesman and educationalist, owing to whose patriotic efforts our *alma mater* has established a position among the universities of the world." The Aga Khan replied, "It is not without emotion that I am here today after so many years....... I will not lay much stress on Islamic studies and culture, because I feel that they must be the very air we breathe from the atmosphere of the University."

During World War II, the Aga Khan was forced, due to the fortunes of war, to remain most of the time in Switzerland, and he ceased to have any active and direct interest in political leadership or in the affairs of the Muslims of India. In his absence during the War, the struggle for India's independence had gained tremendous momentum, and the demand for Pakistan had become the united demand of the Muslim nation under the leadership of Quaid-e-Azam. Commenting on political conditions in India after the War, the Aga Khan wrote, "India in 1946 demonstrated every symptom—in a critical and advanced stage—of that malady whose cure it had been possible to foresee from the day of the promulgation of the Montagu-Chelmsford Reforms about thirty years earlier.... Yet in the whole conduct and strategy of the War India, as India, had no say at all. Many of her most distinguished political leaders languished for years in political detention.....In India there was no talk now of a five or ten-year period of transition. The struggle would be real, immediate, and bloody, unless self-government were granted, not in the future..... but at once and on conditions largely imposed by the people of India themselves.... The Quaid-e-Azam's brilliant and epoch-making career, so untimely ended, reached its summit in these momentous years of 1946 and 1947. Now he belongs to history; and his memory, I am certain, is imperishable."[1]

1. The Memoirs of Aga Khan, pp. 290-292.

He was a great friend and well-wisher of Pakistan ever since its establishment, and visited it four times during his lifetime, the first being in 1950. He had an abiding and boundless faith in the future of Pakistan. On his visit to Pakistan in 1954, he was taken seriously ill in Dacca and later in Karachi. Thereafter he continued to be constantly struggling with ill-health. By June 1957 it was clear he would not live much longer; he was already eighty. His doctors said there was "a lowering of arterial tension," which was followed by a serious heart attack. He passed away peacefully on Thursday, 11th July, 1957, in his palatial house, Villa Barakat, at Varsoix on the lake of Geneva, and was buried a few days later at Aswan in Egypt. He was succeeded on his death by his grandson, Prince Karim, as the Imam of the Ismailis and as Aga Khan IV.

The last time I met His Highness was in Paris, about two months before his death at his favourite hotel, the Ritz. His sunken eyes and the pale yellow colour of his skin indicated the poor state of his health. His personal physician had allowed me for five minutes, saying that His Highness should not tire himself. But he kept talking to me for over an hour, in spite of the protests of his doctor. I found his mind as alert and as clear as ever. He was obviously taking keen interest in what was happening in the world, and he kept on discussing various current international issues, with special reference to Pakistan. He said, "The world of Islam is at an important period of its history. Pakistan, true to the reasons that brought it into being, must go on serving the cause of Islam and of the Muslims of the world".

After his death, I asked his eldest son, Prince Aly Khan, how His Highness had spent his last days. He replied, "Often he would ask me to play gramophone records containing recitations of the Holy Quran. With the recitation of the Quran, I could see his lips move in silence, repeating the verses of the Holy Quran." A fitting tribute was paid to him, when a leading daily of Pakistan editorially commented, "With the passing away of the Aga Khan, we witness the end of an era "[1]

1. Dawn, Karachi. 12th July, 1957.

MAULANA MOHAMMAD ALI

(1878—1931)

"I want to go to my country, if I can go back, with the substance of freedom in my hand. Otherwise, I will not go back to a slave country. I would even prefer to die in a foreign country, so long as it is a free country, and if you do not give us freedom in India, you will have to give me a grave here (England). It is for the sake of peace, friendship and freedom that we have come here, and I hope that we shall go back with all that. If we go back to India without the birth of a new Dominion, we shall go back, believe me, to a lost Dominion. British domination is doomed over India." These words have a ring of sincerity and patriotism about them that would thrill the heart of any patriot anywhere, at any time. These are words that rank among the greatest utterances of world leaders, in the cause of national liberation. They constitute part of a soul-stirring speech that Maulana Mohammad Ali, that fearless freedom fighter, delivered on 19th November, 1930, in London, while addressing the First Round Table Conference.

His whole upbringing, the entire gamut of experiences through which he went, and the time in which he lived had moulded the thinking, the mental attitudes and the character of Maulana Mohammad Ali. He seemed to carry on his broad and sturdy shoulders the entire burden of the sorrows and sufferings, trials and tribulations of the Muslims of India in particular and of the subcontinent in general. Through a lifelong struggle, enriched by much personal suffering, he rose to be a bastion of human liberty, a custodian of individual and national dignity. He endeavoured to rouse the Muslims from their political lethargy, and to shake Hindus out of their inborn arrogance and intolerance towards the Muslims. It was his magnetic touch, which produced a storm that shook the foundations of British *raj* in India.

Mohammad Ali was born in 1878 "In a fairly prosperous and cultured Indian Muslim family in the Rampur State."[1] While yet an infant, his father died, and the entire family responsibility devolved on his mother. "She had become a widow at the age of twenty-seven, when cholera had suddenly cut short our young father's life, after a few hours' illness. She refused to remarry and. . . .told those who advised her to do so that. . . . .now she had five husbands and a wife to look after, referring, of course, to her five boys and one girl."[2] Although not educated herself, Mohammad Ali's mother, who later on came to be endearingly called Bi Amma, "was remarkably free from prejudice and superstition."[3] She believed that her children should move with the times and, therefore, she rebelled against old prejudices against English education, "and she secretly pawned some personal jewellery,"[4] in order to give her sons, Shaukat Ali and Zulfiquar Ali, on English education in Bareilly. When Mohammad Ali was old enough to leave Rampur, he was also provided with enough money to join his elder brothers at the school in Bareilly. The ancestral home at Rampur was the rendezvous of literary figures of the district, and the young Mohammad Ali would frequently drop in, "and listen with great interest to the animated discussions of our cousins and their friends and visitors, and, I must confess, this experience of my childhood was a liberal education in itself."[5] The mother, deeply religious herself, was careful to give her children a sound religious education, by engaging for them learned men. "I have come across none that I could call wiser and certainly none that was more truly Godly and spiritual than our mother."[6]

At Bareilly also the three brothers kept up the family habit of joining many groups of students that debated and discussed natural science and philosophy. After matriculating at Bareilly, Zulfiquar left to join Aligarh College, and later on the other two brothers also joined Aligarh. At Aligarh, the great Shibli No'mani was a professor of Arabic and Persian, to whom

1. An Autobiography: Mohammad Ali.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.

all the three brothers became devoted, and they often listened to Shibli's religious discourses, from which they greatly profited.

"After eight years at Aligarh..... I obtained my B. A. degree from the Government University of Allahabad. As my success in the examination proved far greater than my deserts, it induced my brother Shaukat to try his hand at a miracle and somehow procure sufficient funds to send me to Oxford."[1] Ordinarily, he would have been recruited in a high-salaried Government job, after topping the list at the B.A. examination, and the young Mohammad Ali would have been devoured by the greedy Government bureaucratic machinery. "To cut the story short, I had at Oxford, where I took an honours degree in Modern History, an excellent opportunity of acquainting myself with a portion of the history of my co-religionists.... But of the religion that had proved the sword and buckler of those Muslims of our older day, I would learn nothing further at Oxford."[2] A student at Lincoln College, Oxford, Mohammad Ali left it after obtaining his degree, as "I was now supposed to have 'completed' my education, I realised later that, in fact, I had not even begun it."[3]

During his stay in England, the young Mohammad Ali had sat for the coveted I.C.S. examination, but failed to be selected. Whether the failure was due to his having lesser aptitude and intelligence than the other Indian students, who had been selected, or whether it was due to the fact that an over-sensitive foreign Government had a complete secret record on the activities of Mohammad Ali during his student days at Aligarh, when he had shown a marked anti-British attitude—this question can never be satisfactorily answered. But the fact remains on record that a genius of Mohammad Ali's stature was supposed to have secured less marks than students of lesser calibre. "After four years, I returned to India after taking my degree, though not as a member of the much-coveted Indian Civil Service."[4]

Maulana Mohammad Ali had been a class-fellow at Oxford of Kunwar Fateh Singh, heir apparent of Baroda and, "they

1. An Autobiography: Mohammad Ali.
2. Ibid.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.

had deep and sincere mutual relations."[1] It is very likely that the Baroda Prince spoke very highly of his friend, Mohammad Ali, to his father, the Maharajah of Baroda. "I joined His Highness of Baroda's service, some time after resigning my appointment as the Chief Educational Officer in my own State of Rampur."[2] His distinguished services to the State were deeply appreciated by the Maharajah of Baroda, and Mohammad Ali was now holding a ministerial rank in the State. While in Baroda State service, Mohammad Ali was being gradually drawn into the wider field of political activity, but the crippling restrictions of service rules were preventing him from venturing far in that direction. He was already an established writer, having frequently contributed to the columns of the *Times of India*, and he was being tempted to enter journalism as a career. Towards the end of 1910, he submitted his resignation, which the Maharajah accepted with great reluctance. He had to give up an assured career and financial security in search for a doubtful future in the hazardous field of journalism. He had to "stake all the money I could gather from any quarter practically on one throw of the dice as.....an editor-proprietor-cum-printer...I had been dreaming for some time dreams of a "United Faith of India". The name he gave to the weekly he was to start was *Comrade*. "The *Comrade*—comrade of all and partisan of none—was to be the organ that was to voice views, and prepare the Musalmans to make their proper contribution to territorial patriotism, without abating a jot of the fervour of their extra-territorial sympathies which is the quintessence of Islam."[3]

The *Comrade* from the date of its first appearance came to be looked upon as the mouthpiece of the grievances of the Muslims, as also the voice of their aspirations. Throughout its existence, *Comrade* rendered yeoman service to the cause of socio-economic and political advancement of the Muslims of India in particular, and to the cause of India in general, by attacking the anti-Indian attitude both of the bureaucracy and of the British Government. On 7th October, 1911, the

1. Selections from Comrade : Syed Rais Ahmad Jafri, p. 10.
2. An Autobiography : Maulana Mohammad Ali.
3. Ibid.

Comrade editorially lamented the backward condition in the field of education of the Muslims of Bengal. The editorial made a masterly analysis of the reasons behind this deplorable state of affairs, blaming the Government on the one hand, and on the other exhorting the Muslims of Bengal to take in increasing numbers to modern education. It concluded, "The Government of the Province owes them a great duty, and we are not so sure if it is as conscious of it as it should be. The Mussalmans may or may not be the 'favourite wife', but it is the general expression of polygamous humanity that it is not the favourite of the Harem that has the best of times. It is the termagant and the untamed shrew that always carries her point."[1] In another editorial, on another occasion, he supported many of the points made out by H. H. the Aga Khan in a public statement on the political changes that had recently taken place. It said, "We have no doubt that the views of His Highness the Aga Khan on the recent changes, which we are happy to publish elsewhere, will be read with that attention and command that respect which his intellectual gifts no less than his unique position have earned for them through a brilliant public career in recent times. Those who were in contact with His Highness cannot fail to be impressed by his breadth of view and intellectual charm.....The times are gone when everything could safely be done for the people and nothing by them.....We fully agree with His Highness the Aga Khan that the real needs of the Musalmans can be summed up in one word—'Education'....We are ready to accept that Eastern Bengal is not always fairly treated by the University of Calcutta, and that Muslim educational interests would be better safeguarded by a University at Dacca."[2] In an editorial, entitled "The Public Life In The Punjab," Maulana Mohammad Ali wrote, "As things are, the lack of organised will and purpose in provincial public life is daily made manifest in all important public concerns, and nowhere more so than in the go-ahead and sturdy Punjab..... Will not some of the conventional persons of the day rise above the petty grind of daily life and touch the will and purpose of the people

1. Comrade, 7-10-1911.
2. Comrade, 10-2-1912.

with the spirit of tolerance, sympathy and common endeavour?"[1] In a forceful editorial advocating Urdu as "The Lingua Franca of India," Maulana Mohammad Ali wrote, "An Urdu Conference is to be held today at Poona and we hope it will not confine itself merely to a semi-political agitation, but will also debate questions of a practical character relative to the development of the language, its extension throughout India, and the best methods of imparting instruction in the language in schools, especially in those where another vernacular is predominant........Urdu is essentially the language of Hindustan.....Language is the expression of thought and where thought differs so radically as in Islam and Hinduism, can the same language express it adequately in each case? Consider it which way we like, it has to be confessed in the end that Urdu is irreducible minimum to which the most compromising Muslims would consent."[2]

Lovat Fraser wrote that Maulana Mohammad Ali had "marvellous command over the English language. No Indian, and, perhaps, very few Englishmen, could write better than he did."[3] Another paper commented, "Whoever has not read the pages of *The Comrade* has not understood the secrets of Mohammad Ali's personality. Mohammad Ali, who is the most gifted journalist of the country, has poured out his heart into his paper through his pen.... Mohammad Ali is unrivalled and will probably remain unrivalled in depicting the policies of men, their modes of action, and their movements."[4]

During the Balkan War, Maulana Mohammad Ali wrote editorial after editorial supporting the cause of Turkey in that war, and it was mainly due to his appeal that funds came pouring into the office of the *Comrade*, which enabled him to send a medical mission, with Dr. Ansari as its leader, for relief work in Turkey. Aligarh students enthusiastically supported and supplemented the efforts of Maulana Mohammad Ali.

In 1913 the police had forcibly demolished an old mosque in Cawnpore, and when the Muslims wanted to rebuild it, the police opened fire on the crowd. In September 1913 the

1. Comrade, 6-4-1912.
2. Comrade, 27-7-1912.
3. The Times of India : Editorial by Lovat Fraser.
4. The Bombay Chronicle.

Muslim League sent a deputation consisting of Maulana Mohammad Ali and Syed Wazir Hasan to meet the Secretary of State for India and to educate public opinion in England regarding the point of view of the Muslims. The deputation, however, failed in their objective and returned empty handed.

Maulana Mohammad Ali wrote an editorial in the *Comrade*, entitled "Choice of The Turks," supporting the cause of Turkey in the Balkan War. This editorial brought the wrath of the mighty British Empire on his head, and the security of *Comrade* and its Urdu counterpart, *Hamdard*, was declared forfeited to the Government. The *Comrade* started publication some time later, then finally it had to close down, and in his farewell message, Maulana Mohammad Ali wrote, "We have lived because we have dared, and we shall still dare, and we shall still live".

In 1915, orders of internment were served on him, and he was confined to Mehrauli, Landsdowne and Chhindwara in turn. While in internment, Maulana Mohammad Ali was elected to preside over the annual session of the Muslim League to be held in Bombay. But, as his internment prevented him from attending the session, the presidential chair at the session was kept vacant, as a tribute to the fearless services rendered by the Maulana to the cause of the Muslims of the world. He spent most of the time of his internment in the pursuit of Islamic learning and knowledge, the Holy Quran being his most favourite book of study. He wrote, "The pay-word of the Quran was 'Service'," And he rededicated his life to the service of humanity, the four and a half years of enforced internment seem to have purged him spiritually. When a general amnesty of all political prisoners was declared in December 1919, after the end of the First World War the two brothers, Shaukat Ali and Mohammad Ali, commonly known as the Ali Brothers, were released from internment. They came to Amritsar to participate in the annual session of the Muslim League, where they were enthusiastically welcomed and garlanded.

The War was over, and Turkey lay defeated. It was the belief of Maulana Mohammad Ali, as also of millions of Muslims, that Jaziratul Arab, including Hejaz, Palestine, Iraq, Syria and Turkey should remain under the Khaliph. Towards this end,

Maulana Mohammad Ali was mainly responsible for organising the first Khilafat Conference, as a result of which a Muslim deputation waited on Lord Chelmsford, the Viceroy of India. The Khilafat Conference decided to send a deputation to England, and Maulana Mohammad Ali was one of the members of this delegation that visited England. Proud and arrogant in victory, the deputation found the British in no mood to listen to the voice of reason, and they returned to India without meeting with any success. On return to India, he plunged himself whole-heartedly in the work of the Khilafat Movement and the Swaraj agitation, travelling all over India with the restlessness of a whirlwind. It was mainly due to his efforts that India witnessed a great upsurgence of national consciousness to work towards the goal of self-government for India. He and his brother, Maulana Shaukat Ali, joined hands with Gandhi, and under his unified command the Khilafat and the Congress carried the masses off their feet by rousing their political enthusiasm to feverish heat.

On 8th July, 1921, was held the All-India Khilafat Conference at Karachi. Maulana Mohammad Ali, the President of the Khilafat Committee, made a daring speech at this session, which will go down in history as one of the most scathing indictments of the British rule in India and the British policy towards the Muslim countries. This conference, by a resolution, declared it "unlawful for any faithful Muslim to serve from that day in the army or help or acquiesce in their recruitment". The resolution further declared that if the British waged war against the Government of Angora, the Muslims of India would start a mass Civil Disobedience Movement and establish complete independence and hoist the flag of the Republic of India at the ensuing Ahmedabad session of the Indian National Congress.

Maulana Mohammad Ali was on one of his frequent political tours and was travelling in a train between Assam and Madras, when on 14th September, 1921, he was arrested for his Karachi speech, as were also, from other parts of India, his brother Maulana Shaukat Ali, Dr. Kitchlew, Jagat Guru Shri Shankar Acharya of Sarada Peth, Maulana Nisar Ahmed, Pir Ghulam Mujadid Sirhindi of Sind and Maulvi Husain Ahmed, for having taken part in, and voted for, the Karachi Khilafat Conference

Resolution. Maulana Mohammad Ali's Karachi speech was repeated from hundreds of platforms, as also the Karachi resolution. The *Ulema* in a *Fatwa* endorsed the resolution adopted by the Karachi session of the Khilafat Committee. The Karachi resolution, for which the seven leaders were arrested and tried, read, "This meeting clearly proclaims that it is in every way religiously unlawful for a Mussalman at the present moment to continue in the British army or to enter the army, and it is the duty of all Mussalmans in general and of the *Ulema* in particular to see that the religious commandments are brought home to every Mussalman in the army."[1] The charge against them was that they had conspired to seduce Muslim troops from their allegiance to the Government. The sessions trial of the accused was held at the Khalikdina Hall on Bunder Road in Karachi, which was hastily converted into a temporary court-room.

Maulana Mohammad Ali addressed the jury for two days, and this speech is known as the Historic Speech of Maulana Mohammad Ali at the Karachi Trial. During the course of his address, he said, "I do not want any defence. I have no defence to offer. And there is no need of defence, for it is not me who is on trial. It is the judge himself who is on trial. It is the whole system of public prosecutions, the entire provisions of law that are on trial." Explaining that to every individual what his religion taught was more important than what his king commanded, he said, "Is God's law for a British subject to be more important or the king's law—a man's law?" In a defiant mood, he thundered, "We do not recognise the king any longer as our king—we do not owe any loyalty to any man who denied our right to be loyal to God. . . .Where the question of God comes in as against the Government, I cannot have any respect for a Government when the Government demands from me that I must not first respect God and His laws." Explaining the duty of a Muslim, the Maulana said, "But the day a man calls himself a Muslim, he is bound to abide by what is contained in the Quran. If any single syllable of it I reject, I am not a Muslim. . . . . If to declare the laws of Islam is an offence and we are guilty, then say so . . . . But, gentlemen

1. Maulana Mohammad Ali as I know Him: Ziauddin Burney. (Quoted in Selections from Comrade, p. 179).

of the jury, I do not want you to save me and I want you to be saved yourselves." Continuing addressing the jury, he said, "Can I not say this to the jury—if these people are not true to their God, can they be true to their king?"[1]

When the trial of our leaders was taking place, I was a student in St. Patrick's High School, Karachi. The newspapers were giving wide coverage to the trial, and I had been eagerly reading the trial proceedings. I was anxious to witness the trial, and through the help of an influential family friend, I was squeezed into the Khalikdina Hall, to which admittance was regulated. As I heard Maulana Mohammad Ali deliver his great oration, my boyish mind was overwhelmed by hero-worship for a fearless man, who in spite of the police bayonets around him was challenging the might of a foreign ruling power. When the leaders were being led out of the Hall, at the end of the day, an impish desire impelled me to rush towards Maulana Mohammad Ali, with my right hand outstretched, in order to shake hands with him. To my childish eyes, the Maulana looked literally and figuratively a giant figure. The watchful and alert eyes of a police officer caught me in the act of rushing to meet the prisoners, and he forcibly pulled me back from reaching the outstretched hand of the smiling Maulana Mohammad Ali. This was the nearest I ever got to the Maulana. But the recollection of that incident in the Khalikdina Hall still lingers in my mind as a scented memory.

The trial was merely a command performance, held under the watchful eyes of an alien Government, and the result was that, except for Shri Shankaracharya, all the six were sentenced to two years' imprisonment. Maulana Shaukat Ali and Maulana Mohammad Ali were lodged in the Karachi jail. During the period of his imprisonment, Maulana Mohammad Ali wrote *My Life: A Fragment.* The Ali Brothers were released from jail in 1923, and Maulana Mohammad Ali was elected to preside over the Cocanada session of the Congress. The Maulana jokingly said, "I have come from jail, with a return ticket in my pocket". He re-started the *Comrade* and the *Hamdard*, advocating the cause of Hindu-Muslim unity and understanding for the political advancement of India.

1. Selections from Comrade : Syed Ahmed Jafri, pp. 97-128.

When Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah formulated his Delhi Proposals in 1927, Maulana Mohammad Ali succeeded in getting the Madras session of the Congress to support them. But the following year, with the active support of Gandhi, an all-parties conference was called in Bombay, with Pandit Motilal Nehru as chairman. The scheme that emerged from this Committee came to be known as the Nehru Report, which went completely against the Delhi Proposals, and Maulana Mohammad Ali stood disillusioned about the sincerity of the Hindu leaders. Criticising the Nehru Report, the Maulana said, "The street-crier under the Nehru Report will shout, 'People belong to God; the country belongs to the British; the Government belongs to the Hindu Mahasabha Bahadur'". Presiding over a public meeting in Bombay in 1930, the Maulana said, "Mr. Gandhi is working under the influence of the communalist Hindu Mahasabha. He is fighting for the supremacy of Hinduism and the suppression of Muslims.....The Mussalmans have been oppressed and persecuted by the excesses of the Hindu majority in the last ten years. But Mr. Gandhi never tried to improve matters or condemn Hindu terrorism against Muslims."

Maulana Mohammad Ali was nominated as a member to the First Round Table Conference, where he made a soul-stirring speech at the Fourth Plenary Session on 19th November, 1930. The sum and substance of this speech was, "Give me Freedom; or, give me my Grave." During the course of his address, he said, "I have not come to ask for Dominion Status. I do not believe in the attainment of Dominion Status. The one thing to which I am committed is complete independence.... India has put on fifty-league boots. We are making forced marches, which will astonish the world, and we will not go back to India, unless a new Dominion is born..... It is with these passions surging in our hearts that we have come here... The Hindu-Muslim difficulty, like the army difficulty, is your own creation...... It is the old maxim of divide and rule."

He was a chronic diabetic with a dilated heart—very much a sick man. His speech at the First Round Table Conference was over, but Maulana Mohammad Ali stayed on in England, undergoing treatment. Towards the end of December 1930, it was quite clear to all his friends, as also to

himself, that the end was near. He wrote a long letter to the British Prime Minister, outlining his own original solution for the Hindu-Muslim problem, as also his own ideas on India's political and constitutional ailments. He wrote, "I am far too ill..... Muslims constitute not a minority in the sense in which the last war and its sequel have habituated us to consider European minorities..... I regret to have to say in their absence, Gandhiji and Pandit Motilal Nehru have both surrendered for the sake of their popularity to the Hindu Mahasabha......But territorial electorate in India of the type of England is an absurdity....."

On 31st December, although confined to bed in London, he invited a few friends to celebrate the birthday of his daughter, and he had ordered delicious Indian dishes from Shafi's Restaurant to entertain his guests. On 3rd January, 1931, he became unconscious, and at 9.30 a.m. on 4th January, 1931, he breathed his last. His doctors said that he had suffered a brain haemorrhage caused by excessive mental work, when in a very poor state of health. The question arose as to where he should be buried, various claims being taken into consideration. Ultimately it was decided to accept the request of the Grand Mufti of Palestine, Syed Amin-al-Husaini, and he came to be buried in the sacred city of Jerusalem.

"Mohammad Ali had the pen of a Macaulay; the tongue of a Burke; and the heart of a Napoleon."[1]

1. H. G. Wells.

NAWABZADA LIAQUAT ALI KHAN

(1895—1951)

About five hundred years ago, an aristocratic family of Iran, tracing its descent from Nausherwan the Just, migrated to India. Endeavouring to strike roots in a new social mileu, it faced diverse vicissitudes of fortune, changing its residence from one place to another, in the hope of better prospects. This family resided for a time in Lahore, then migrated to Muzafarnagar in the United Provinces, where due to the bravery of the members of the family on the battle-field, the rulers of the time gave them high military appointments as also conferred on them rich *jagirs*. In 1806 this family left U.P. and migrated to Karnal in East Punjab, where they settled down permanently. The head of the family at about this time was Nawab Ahmed Ali Khan, who was given by the British the title of "Rukn-ud-Daulah Shamsher Jang Nawab Bahadur". The name of his second son was Nawab Rustam Ali Khan, who was awarded the title of Nawab, along with his two brothers, Nawab Azmat Ali Khan and Nawab Sajad Ali Khan, after the death of Nawab Ahmad Ali Khan.[1]

Nawab Rustam Ali Khan had four sons—Sajad Ali Khan, Liaquat Ali Khan, Khurshid Ali Khan and Sadaquat Ali Khan. Liaquat Ali Khan was born in Karnal on the 1st of October, 1895. His mother, Mahmoodah Begum, was a lady of imposing personality. She was the daughter of Quaher Ali Khan of Rajpour in the district of Saharanpur. Brought up in the old traditions of a Muslim aristocratic family, she saw to it that Liaquat Ali Khan received his lessons in the Holy Quran and Hadith at home from Muslim scholars before he was sent to a school in Karnal. His mother has said of him, "From his childhood, Liaquat Ali Khan was a man of few words. He was a young man of sterling qualities and warm-hearted by nature, particularly kind to the poor. As a young man he was of an amiable

1. Shaheed-e-Millat Zindabad : Qamar Taskeen, p. 7.

nature, never prone to lose his temper. He was very cordial in his relationship with his servants, being always generous and kind towards them. He had an enormous capacity for mimicking and imitating the voices of others."[1] From his early days, he liked to identify himself with the poor people of the district around his house. "Whenever he was fed up being with the Nawabzadas of his own age, he would leave their company and go to the houses of the poor villagers. He would listen to their tales of woe and suffering and, wherever possible, he would help them financially. It seems he learnt his first lessons of serving the masses in his early days."[2]

Recounting her recollections of the childhood days of Liaquat Ali Khan, his mother said, "At the age of four, he was determined to fast during the month of Ramzan. We strongly remonstrated against his wish, as he was too young. He seemed to agree with us. But early morning, at the time of *saheri* he conspired with a house servant, and continued to fast throughout the month of Ramzan........He used to fast even in the very hot months of May and June.... When he was in the fifth standard, he stood first in his class, and was to be awarded a book as a prize. He requested that instead of the book, he be awarded double promotion. Accordingly he was admitted in the seventh class...... In his younger days, Liaquat was fond of wrestling, and every day he would go to the *akhara* with his brothers.... He was also fond of chess and games of cards. Then came a time when he became fond of cricket, and he was once the captain of the cricket eleven of Aligarh College.... He was passionately fond of classical music, and he took lessons in it from a well known master, Ustad Allah Rakha. He used to learn from the latter to play the harmonium and the flute."[3]

Liaquat Ali Khan seemed to have been far-sighted even in his school days. He realised that if he was to become an important person in life, he must take to high education and, if possible, proceed to England for higher studies, after having graduated in India. Accordingly in 1910, he pleaded with his father to allow him to join Aligarh College for his B.A., a

1. Shaheed-e-Millat Zindabad : Qamar Taskeen p. 15.
2. Quaid-e-Millat : Fazal Haq Qureshi Dehlavi, p. 19.
3. Ibid. pp. 18-20.

request that his father willingly conceded, and in that year Liaquat Ali Khan came to be a student at Aligarh. After studying at Aligarh for some time, he joined a college in Allahabad, from where he obtained his B.A. degree in 1918, after which he returned to Karnal. He was now twenty-three, and his father was anxious that his son should get married. According to the practice then prevalent, the parents decided to get him married to one of his cousins, Jehangira Begum, and a dutiful son agreed to the wishes of his parents. A few months later, his father died, plunging Liaquat Ali Khan into terrible grief.

Some time after his father's death, Liaquat Ali Khan decided to go to England for higher studies. He joined Exeter College of the Oxford University, obtaining his Master's Degree from that University in 1921. Thereafter he joined the Inner Temple, from where he was called to the Bar in 1922. At Oxford he took an active part in debates organised by the Indian Majlis, of which he was elected Honorary Treasurer. It was during his college days at Oxford, as also during his days at the Inner Temple, that Liaquat Ali Khan felt himself drawn more and more to politics. He followed with great interest political events in India and in England, and was waiting for an opportunity to enter active politics. He returned to India in 1923. He was tempted with many offers of high Government jobs, being a Barrister-at-Law and descended from an aristocratic Muslim family. But it went against his grain to accept any service. He could have started his own practice as a Barrister, but the thought of setting up a law office and pleading cases before magistrates and judges was not something that could tempt him. Fortunately for him, he needed no service or practice to make a living, for his family income provided him with adequate resources to live above his needs. And so he waited on the sidelines of life, studying political developments, and waiting for an opportunity to enter actively the political arena. The Muslim League was at this time the leading political organisation of the Muslims of India, and Liaquat Ali Khan immediately became one of its members. When in 1926 the elections were being held for the Legislative Assembly, he contested for a seat in the Assembly as an independent candidate. He won the election easily, and was now

a member of the Provincial Legislative Assembly. He wanted to be cautious, and so he did not join any party in the House, but sat as an independent. With experience gained, he organised the Democratic Party in the Legislative Assembly, and was elected its leader. When elections were held for the post of Deputy Speaker of the House, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan was unanimously elected to that high office, while he was yet in his early thirties.

While he was Deputy Speaker of the U.P. Legislative Assembly, he got married for the second time. The name of his second wife was Raana Begum, who is a highly accomplished lady, highly educated, cultured, refined, and was a devoted wife. "At this time, he married another young lady, highly educated. From the very first day of their marriage, Raana Begum, due to her own inherent goodness and devotion, became the right hand of Liaquat Ali Khan, and she was his constant companion in his public life, encouraging him to dedicate himself to the service of the country."[1] A source of great encouragement, Begum Raana Liaquat Ali Khan has played a very commendable role in the entire political life of her husband. After partition, she rose to heights of great eminence. The role that she has played in bringing about greater social and political awareness among the women of Pakistan is her lasting national contribution. I remember calling on her one day in Karachi at 10, Victoria Road, while the Quaid-e-Millat was the Prime Minister of Pakistan. He was the target of severe attacks in the press by an influential section of our religious *ulema*. Begum Liaquat was terribly depressed at this unmerited and severe criticism against her husband, as some had even demanded that Liaquat should resign as Prime Minister. Begum Liaquat Ali Khan told me in a sad tone, "Mr. Allana, they will never get a man like him as Prime Minister". A few months later, he fell a martyr to an assassin's bullet.

Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan took a keen interest in the educational advancement of the Muslims, at first within his own province and then on an all-India basis. In this connection, it must be mentioned that he was for a long time on the Examination Committee of Aligarh University and also of Agra

1. *Quaid-e-Millat*: Fazal Haq Qureshi, p. 21.

University. He took these responsibilities in a spirit of dedicated service, playing an important role in the deliberations of the meetings of thecommittees of the two Universities. He widened his interests in the field of education, and was now actively associated with the committee that ran the Anglo-Arabic College at Delhi. He was soon elected its Honorary Secretary, which office he held with distinction for seven years.

He had joined the Muslim League in 1923, and ever since then began to take an active interest in its affairs.

Quaid-e-Azam had been invited to attend the All-Parties National Convention which was to meet at Calcutta on 22nd December, 1928, to discuss and adopt the Nehru Report. But the Quaid said he could not do so, until and unless the Council of the League had discussed it and had given him and its representatives a clear mandate. When the matter was discussed in the League Council, there was a sharp cleavage, some advocating its total rejection, others, led by M. C. Chagla, pleading for its acceptance. But when the Council decided to reject the Nehru Report, Chagla resigned from the Secretaryship of the Bombay Muslim League. This was the beginning, and Chagla was soon to part company with the League and join the Congress. However, Chagla's resolution that a steering committee under the leadership of the Quaid should attend the All-Parties National Convention was adopted. Twentythree delegates were elected for this purpose, and among them Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan's name figured prominently. He was only thirtythree at that time, and he was already entrusted to work under the Quaid in a very crucial conference. Commenting on the discussions in the meeting, Rais Ahmed Jafri writes, "In this meeting Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, Mr. Asad Ali and others were present. A new personality came to the forefront in this meeting, and it was no other than Liaquat Ali Khan".[1] By 1930, his importance and influence was being felt in that organisation. After the first Round Table Conference, when Quaid-e-Azam had retired from Indian politics and was practising before the Privy Council in England, it is on record that Nawabzada and Begum Liaquat Ali Khan called on the great leader, begging him to

1. *Hayat-e-Liaquat*: Rais Ahmed Jafri, pp. 66-67.

return to India and take up the leadership of the Muslims of India, who were in bad shape, politically speaking. On his return to India after a self-imposed temporary retirement, the Quaid came to be more and more impressed with the qualities of leadership that were inherent in Liaquat Ali Khan. The annual session of the All-India Muslim League met at Bombay on 12th April, 1936, under the presidentship of Syed Wazir Hasan. The Quaid was the President of the League, and the question arose of electing a new General Secretary. Mohatarama Fatima Jinnah had related to me how the Nawabzada came to be elected to that high office. She said that Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan was a favourite for that office and every one felt convinced that the Raja Saheb would be elected. But Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan had caught the eye of the Quaid as a suitable person to hold that difficult post. The Quaid let his choice be known to some of the leaders, and the name of Liaquat Ali Khan began to gather more and more support. The result was that it was agreed, by prior consent among our leaders, that the Nawabzada would be elected to the post. The result was that in the open session, on 12th April, 1936, Quaid-e Azam himself moved a resolution, proposing Liaquat Ali Khan to be the Honorary Secretary. The resolution said, "Resolved that Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan Saheb, Deputy President, U.P. Legislative Council, be elected Honorary Secretary of the All-India Muslim League for the next term of three years". This resolution, seconded by Maulvi Sir Mohammad Yakub, was unanimously adopted, and the Nawabzada became, for the first time, General Secretary of the All-India Muslim League. He continued to hold this important and vital office in the organisation from 1936 right up to 1947. It was only after partition that another General Secretary was elected.

During the period 1936 to 1947, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan was one of the most trusted lieutenants of the Quaid. The two stood so close to one another. The Pakistan Resolution had been adopted at the Lahore Session of 1940, and with its adoption the opposition of the Unionists of the Punjab increased against the demand for Pakistan. When the twenty-eighth session of the League met in Madras from the 12th to 15th

April, 1941, the Quaid was determined to make it unambiguously clear that Pakistan was the objective of the League. Accordingly, in that session, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan moved a resolution incorporating the objectives of the Pakistan Resolution in "the aims of objects of the All-India Muslim League". The resolution was seconded by Haji Abdus Sattar Salt, and it was unanimously adopted.

When the All-India Muslim League Session was held at Karachi on 24th December, 1943, the whole nation was pulsating with new hope and expectations. We all had a feeling that we were on the threshold of a new era, and the Muslims of India were in a determined mood. The Quaid's presidential speech laid down the guide-lines for the policy to be pursued by the League. The sum total of his speech was that the time had come when "the British must divide and quit". He wanted India to be divided into Pakistan and Hindustan, and the British must gracefully take their bow from the Indian scene. Once again the question before us was who was to be the Honorary General Secretary of the League. 1943 was not 1936, and all of us were convinced that there was only one man suited for the post—and that man was Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan. His name was proposed for the post. Quaid-e-Azam, in putting the proposition to the vote, said "Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan is my right hand man". He paid very high compliments to the untiring work put in by Liaquat as the Secretary of the League at a difficult period of its history. He said, "Liaquat Ali Khan has worked and served the League day and night", and that it was beyond the capacity of any one man to shoulder the burden and responsibility of work that he had been called upon to do. He said he could not think of any one else better suited for the post than Liaquat Ali Khan, whose name was before the meeting. "He commands the universal respect and confidence of the Muslims of India." The Quaid said that in spite of his birth in an aristocratic family, he was a true plebeian, and he hoped other Nawabzadas in the country would follow his example. "I wish him a long life of service to the community." The resolution was unanimously adopted amid thunderous applause. After the meeting was over, many of us mounted the dais to congratulate the Nawabzada on his being so lavishly praised by the Quaid. As I

shook hands with him, I could see his beaming face aglow with supreme satisfaction. After all, the Quaid-e-Azam was not easily moved to praise a man. Liaquat Ali Khan once again evoked the admiration of the Quaid in the latter half of 1945. A group of young Muslims had gone to see the Quaid at his house in Delhi at 10, Aurangzeb Road. He discussed with them current Indian political problems. During the course of his observations, the Quaid said, "Gandhi has men who can advise him and whom he can depend on. And he leans on them quite often......I have only Liaquat."[1]

By 1937 Liaquat was already an established leader of all-India importance. He was, therefore, included in the trade delegation that the Government of India sent to England in that year. In 1940 there were elections being held to the Central Legislative Assembly. Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan had put in years of hard, dedicated and useful work in the U.P. Legislative Assembly. He was now invited by the Muslim League to contest for a seat in the Central Legislative Assembly from Bareilly constituency. The Congress machinations were in full swing and they tried their best to find a Muslim to oppose him. Their efforts succeeded at first, and an unknown Muslim filed his nomination against Liaquat. But later on the Congress and their henchmen sought safety in discretion, and he withdrew his nomination, enabling the Nawabzada to get elected without a contest. The Quaid was the Leader of the Muslim League Party, and Liaquat became the obvious choice for the post of Deputy Leader. Greatly encouraged by the Quaid from time to time, Liaquat developed into an accomplished debator and parliamentarian, and he often crossed swords with and vanquished such Congress stalwarts as Bhulabhai Desai and Asaf Ali. The House then was full of brilliant orators, and Liaquat Ali Khan was certainly among the best of them. "The Quaid, who was the Leader of the Party, did not always get time to come to the Assembly chamber those days. As his appearance in the Assembly became rare, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan had virtually to function as the Party's Leader. He also exhibited then an immense capacity for willingly accepting any load of responsibilities and work that come his way."[2] He seems to have

1. Some Glimpses of a Great Leader: M. Fazal Imam. Dawn, 14-8-1968.
2. Ibid.

had an immense capacity for work. For, besides being the Deputy Leader of the Muslim League Assembly Party, he was also Honorary General Secretary of the Muslim League, Convenor of the Action Committee of the All-India Muslim League, Chairman of the Central Parliamentary Board, the Managing Director of *Dawn*, the League's official organ, which was rendering such excellent and invaluable service to the cause of the Muslims of India.

"In 1944, when the Congress Party resumed its participation in the Central Legislature, its leader was Bhulabhai Desai. He was frequently in touch with Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan in connection with the Assembly work and the two were on cordial terms."[1] In the year 1945, Desai suggested a formula to Liaquat in order to resolve the Congress League deadlock. The Hindu press published the gist of these proposals and said it was the "Desai-Liaquat Pact". The Nawabzada had taken part in the discussions, but had made no personal commitment or promise on behalf of the League. On 13th January, 1945, Bhulabhai Desai interviewed Sir Evan Jenkins, Private Secretary to the Viceroy and assured him that Liaquat had given his consent to the "Desai Plan". The Quaid informed the Governor of Bombay that he knew nothing of the so-called Desai Liaquat Pact. "But in spite of Gandhiji's repeated warning that he should get everything reduced in writing before committing himself to anything, and further to see to it that it had Jinnah's approval, Bhulabhai, it seems, allowed his over-eagerness for results to get the better of his legal acumen and farsight and failed to take the elementary precautions that had been suggested to him."[2] From this it is clear that the Nawabzada had signed or agreed to no definite pact, and he accordingly issued a press statement, denying he had signed any document, "Mr. Desai knows full well that there is no Pact, but mere proposals, which were only as a basis for his mission..... I made it plain to him that whatever I said was my personal view and that I had no occasion to consult Mr. Jinnah about the matter".

The Simla Conference, which met at 11 o'clock on 25th June, 1945, was a milestone in our struggle for freedom. The

1. Quaid-e-Azam Jinnah: G. Allana, p. 367.
2. Mahatma Gandhi: The Last Phase. Pyarelal.

Quaid had at first insisted on the principle that the League alone was entitled to suggest the names of Muslims to be invited to the conference. Maulana Azad, however, was invited in his capacity as the President of the Congress, Khizar Hayat Khan as Premier of the Punjab and Dr. Khan Sahib as Premier of the Frontier Province. The Muslim League was represented by six leaders, and second in the list of the League was the name of Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, the first being Quaid-e-Azam. When in 1946, the Muslim League agreed to appoint its representatives in the interim Government at the Centre, the Quaid included Liaquat's name at the top of the list of nominees of the League. When Liaquat Ali Khan was allocated the Finance Portfolio, there was a whispering campaign of ridicule by the Hindus that a Muslim can never be a successful Finance Minister. The Congress agreed to the appointment of the Nawabzada as Finance Minister in the vain hope that he would prove to be an utter failure. But Liaquat Ali Khan had an inexhaustible capacity for learning and succeeded in any job that was entrusted to him. He confounded his critics by his resounding success as Finance Minister. Commenting on the firm grip that Liaquat had on his Ministry, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad wrote that the Congress leaders soon found that "even the post of a peon could not be filled without the orders of the Finance Department".

The Indian Budget for 1947-48 was to be prepared under the guidance of the Nawabzada and the whole of Hindu India was curious to know what proposals it would contain, the first ever Budget to be presented by a Muslim Finance Minister. In his Budget proposals he had sought to impose a business profit tax of twentyfive per cent on incomes over a certain slab. Hindu Big Business was up in arms, protesting vehementally against the Budget proposals, and insinuating that they were inspired by a desire on the part of the Finance Minister to hit hard the Hindus, as it would be an overwhelming majority of Hindu businessmen that would come under the axe of this new tax, and that very few Muslims would fall in this category. The Congress Ministers, including Pandit Nehru, had agreed to these proposals in the Cabinet meeting, when the Nawabzada placed his Budget proposals before them. The Congress had been shouting from the house-tops that they

were socialists in their outlook, while the Muslim Leaguers were a pro-capitalist class. But when it came to the test, the reverse proved to be true. The protests of Big Business frightened the Congress, including Nehru, like a storm shaking a blade of grass. The Congress began to openly oppose it, and Nehru sided with the Congress, saying he did not realise the implications of this tax, when he had agreed to it in the Cabinet meeting. The Cabinet was badly split over this taxation proposal, and in order to maintain unanimity within the Cabinet, the leader of the League in the Cabinet, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, agreed to a compromise, reducing the tax from twentyfive per cent to seventeen and a half per cent.

> "Liaquat Ali's budget has put the Congress into the invidious position of being called upon to protect its big business supporters and of seeking relief for them apparently at the expense of its own progressive and equivilitarian declaration."[1]

> Leonard Mosley wrote, "Liaquat's budget had heavily soaked the millionaire backers of the Congress and showed up the hypocrisy of the Party's claim to be socialists."[2]

On the 22nd of November, 1946, Lord Wavell, the Viceroy, issued invitations for the meeting of the Constituent Assembly, which was to determine the future of India's political set-up. The Quaid issued instructions to the Muslim League members of the Constituent Assembly to boycott its sittings. This roused the anger of Lord Wavell, who warned Liaquat Ali Khan that unless the League unequivocally accepted the 16th May statement, he would not allow Muslim League nominees to continue as Ministers in the Interim Government. Liaquat Ali Khan, as loyal as ever to the League, stated that they would rather quit the Cabinet than disobey the mandate of the League. He further accused the British Government of not having the courage to force the Congress to accept *into to* the British Cabinet Mission Plan. The Nawabzada further went on record to state that if a lasting accord was to be found and

1. Mission with Mountbatten : Alan Campbell Johnson, p. 43.
2. The Last Days of The British Raj : Leonard Mosley.

an acceptable constitution was to be evolved, the necessary prerequisite was an understanding between the League and Congress, and that condition was nowhere in sight, due to the anti-Muslim attitude of the Congress. The British Government was in an unenviable predicament, and the Secretary of State wrote to the Viceroy to request two leaders of each of the two parties, the League and Congress, and Sardar Baldev Singh to visit England, in order to resolve the deadlock. The Quaid ultimately agreed, and gave the names of the two representatives of the League—Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah and Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan. The leaders reached London on 2nd December, 1946. The talks that took place with the Secretary of State hastened the transfer of power in India.

On the 14th, of August, 1947, Pakistan came into existence as an independent sovereign State. On the 15th was issued the first notification of the Government of Pakistan, wherein it was notified that Quaid-e-Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah "has been appointed by His Majesty to be the Governor-General of Pakistan". Another notification, issued on the same day, said that "The Governor-General has been graciously pleased to appoint Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, Mr. I. I. Chundrigar, Mr. Ghulam Mohammad, Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar, Mr. Ghazanfar Ali Khan, Mr. Jogendra Nath Mandal, Mr. Fazlur Rahman to be Ministers of the Government of Pakistan". Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan was designated in the notification to be the Prime Minister and in charge of Foreign Affairs and Commonwealth Relations and Defence.

Being the first Prime Minister of a new country, starting from scratch, was no easy job. But the Quaid-e-Millat proved equal to the task; he shouldered his difficult responsibilities with the determination of a dedicated patriot. When about a year after our independence, we lost the founder of Pakistan, Quaid-e Azam Mohammad Ali Jinnah, Liaquat Ali Khan's responsibilities increased a hundredfold. It stands to his eternal credit that our first Prime Minister guided the ship of our destiny with the utmost skill and tact.

The Aga Khan wrote, "Pakistan faced at the outset a far harder task than her neighbour ..... In Pakistan .... everything had to be built from the very beginning". Then he goes on

to describe the extraordinary work done by the Quaid-e-Azam to make Pakistan a going concern. Coming to those that worked as the Quaid's lieutenants, the Aga Khan continues, "There was, too, Quaid-e Azam's faithful and skilled henchman, Liaquat Ali Khan ..... He is survived by his wife, in her own field of work and interests hardly less able and certainly no less devoted than her staunch and beloved husband. But Liaquat will be missed.... Liaquat's qualities were not bright or showy, but whose strength of character was solid, durable, and of the utmost fidelity. He proved his worth in Pakistan's second stern testing .... Liaquat was in every way a worthy successor (to the Quaid)."[1]

It was the 16th of October 1951, and Quaid-e-Millat was to proceed to Rawalpindi on official business, and to adress that day a public meeting in the Company Bagh in that city. Accompanied by Nawab Siddiq Ali Khan, his Political Secretary, and other members of his personal staff, the Prime Minister boarded the plane at Drigh Road Airport early in the morning. During the flight, he was busy disposing of urgent and immediate files that were placed before him. At Chaklala Airport, near Rawalpindi, there was a large crowd to receive him, including important officers of the Government and citizens. He was presented a guard of honour on stepping off the plane. On being introduced to the representatives of the press, one journalist asked him the purpose of his visit to Rawalpindi. "To meet you people," he replied with a smile.[2]

The public meeting at Company Bagh was to start at three in the afternoon and the Quaid-e-Millat was to arrive at four. He arrived exactly on time, mounted the dais, and "as customary with him, he went on saluting the huge gathering for about one minute. But his face was serious, rather than smiling and jovial, as usual."[3] There was only one chair on the dais. The President of the Rawalpindi Muslim League garlanded him, and also read out the address of welcome. Then rose the Prime Minister to address the gathering. He went to the microphone, and stood before it for a while, as that

1. Memoirs of Aga Khan, pp. 321-322.
2. Reported in *Afaq* by Irfani.
3. Ibid.

huge crowd vociferously cheered and applauded him. A hushed silence then descended on that gathering. The Quaid-e-Millat started his speech. As he said, "*Brathran-e Millat*", there was the sound of a pistol shot. Liaquat Ali Khan put his right hand in the region of his heart. The gathering was astounded, for it was clear that someone had shot him in the chest, and some more shots were heard. He fell on the dais, as blood oozed out of his chest. Nawab Siddiq Ali Khan walked up, and put the Quaid-e-Millat's head in his lap. Water was brought. The glass was put to his mouth. But he could not drink He whispered faintly, "Allah". Then he recited the Kalma, and his last words were, "May God protect Pakistan". The assassin was killed on the spot. Shaheed-e-Millat was taken in a car to the Combined Military Hospital, where the doctors pronounced him dead.

By this supreme sacrifice, the Quaid-e Millat earned for himself the immortal title of "Shahid-e-Millat". He died in harness, in the service of his people and his country.

It is important to recall his Independence Day Message of 14th August, 1951, about two months before he died. It shows the intense love he had for Pakistan, and reveals his indomitable will to see that Pakistan became one of the leading nations of the world. "This day, which we celebrate every year, is to me a challenge and an opportunity for rededication to the great task of state-building set up by the Quaid-e-Azam. We have weathered many a storm and our course has been firm. By patient endurance of hardships and constructive effort we have won the respect of nations. But there is no room for complacency. The task is long and arduous. Let us march on with Unity, Faith and Discipline as our beacons. Let this Islamic Democracy of Pakistan act as an example of peace, prosperity and harmonious progress for a world torn between conflicting ideologies."

CHOUDHARY RAHMAT ALI

(1895—1951)

"The Muslim Empire fell in 1857......The Muslims had their homelands in Pakistan; that is, Punjab, North-West Frontier Province..... Kashmir, Sind and Baluchistan. The name Pakistan I derived from the names of these five Provinces. The Muslims had lived there as a nation for over twelve hundred years, and possess a history, a civilisation, and a culture of their own. The area is separated from India proper (Hindustan) by the Jamna; and *it is not* a part of India. Although twelve hundred years ago there were Hindus and a Hindu Empire, since 712, for over a thousand years, they (the Hindus) have been a minority community there. The total population of Pakistan is 42 millions, of which 32 millions are Muslim. Their racial origins are from Central Asia, and socially their type of civilisation is totaly different from that of Hindustan. Islam as a social, moral, and political system, is the key to, and the outstanding feature of, the Pakistani nation. I want *you, Madam, to clearly understand this basic point. The Muslims in Pakistan are in their national home.* The Muslims in Hindustan (i. e.. India proper) went there as conquerers. Therefore Hindustan was the Muslim empire, where for over nine hundred years they ruled over a vast native majority. But when they lost this colonial Empire, as distinct from Pakistan, the Muslims who settled in these Muslim Imperial Dominions of Hindustan became a minority community in Hindustan. I have nothing to say against it; it is a fact.....The distinction between Pakistan and Hindustan (India proper) has been, and shall ever be, clear as the midday sun. While in the former they are in their national home, in the latter they are a minority community, who had once ruled by right of conquest. It is a tragedy that this historical reality was callously ignored. The two—Pakistan and Hindustan—were confused. Hence

the present catastrophe. . . . . We are as proud of our history as we are confident of our future. . . . .The seed sown in 1933 has taken root and our work is progressing favourably. The Pakistan National Movement has its propaganda centres all over Pakistan. In all Provinces of the Fatherland we have our organisations. Apart from pamphlets, tracts, handbills, and other literature issued regularly by the Provincial centres, a weekly newspaper under the title of *Pakistan* is being published to propagate the ideals of the movement. . . . I admit that in the present struggle our back is to the wall, but we remember that in this very land our forefathers successfully faced far worse situations than we have to meet today. For us it is a question, 'To be or not to be'. We know that Pakistan is our destiny. It may or may not be realised in my lifetime: but, with time, it is sure to command recognition and become for the people of Pakistan an ideal worthy of the highest dedication."[1]

In these words, Choudhary Rahmat Ali, founder of the Pakistan National Movement, started in Cambridge, England, in 1933, explained his concept of Pakistan in 1937 to Halide Edib, the renowned Turkish author and traveller. They reveal a depth of passion for a cause, which he considered to be dearer to him than life itself, and his whole life from the day he started this Movement was dedicated to further the claim for the establishment of Pakistan. He was an idealist, who was not prepared to talk or think in terms of other alternatives or to discuss compromise solutions. He had an unshakable and undying faith in the Pakistan Movement, and he did live to see the establishment of a sovereign, independent country, Pakistan.

In the second half of the nineteenth century there lived in village Mohar in District Hoshiarpur in the Punjab a man called Choudhary Shah Mohamad, who was the owner of a small land-holding near the village, through the income of which he was able to financially maintain his family and himself in respectable circumstances. In this family was born in 1895 a son, whom they named Rahmat Ali.[2] The father had been denied the benefits of high education, but he was keen that

1. Inside India: Halide Edib, pp. 351-356.
2. Choudhary Rahmat Ali : Ahsan Choudhry, in Nawa-e-Waqt.

Rahmat Ali should receive the best education possible, and to make this possible, he went on saving enough money to provide him with adequate funds to complete his education. From his early childhood, Rahmat Ali showed signs of great promise as a student, which made his parents and his relatives feel certain that the young boy had a brilliant future before him. After finishing his primary education in Mohar, Rahmat Ali went to Rahun to join the middle school there. When he found only a few years were left for his appearing for matriculation, he went to Jullunder City, where he joined the Anglo-Sanskrit High School, and it was from this school that he passed his matriculation examination. Lahore was the educational and cultural centre of the Punjab, where flocked students in their thousands to complete their college education. The young and ambitious Rahmat Ali also fell to the charm of Lahore, and he came to that city, where he joined the Islamia College in order to get his Bachelor of Arts degree.[1]

While studying at Islamia College, Choudhary Rahmat Ali took keen interest in the extra-curricular activities of the college. Addressing the Bazm-e-Shibli in the Islamia College in 1915, Choudhary Rahmat Ali said that the northern part of India consists of an overwhelming population of Muslims, and it will be kept Muslim. Not only would it be Muslim, he said, but it would be made a Muslim State. This, he continued, would be possible, only if the Muslims shook off the domination of the Hindu *banias* and became independent of them.[2] Choudhary Rahmat Ali was also for some time editor of the college magazine, *The Crescent*. While pursuing his college studies, Choudhary Rahmat Ali took on a job as sub-editor of *Kashmiri*, which was being run by Munshi Mohameddin Fauq, in order to supplement the meagre allowance that he received every month from his family. To him this was an opportunity to ventilate his non-conformist views about Muslim and Indian politics, and he did so in many articles that he wrote in *Kashmiri* with great fervour and force. This invited the wrath of an over-sensitive foreign Government, which demanded from *Kashmiri* an amount which was imposed as punitive security. Munshi Mohameddin Fauq paid

1. Choudhary Rahmat Ali; Iqbal Asad, in Aqdam, Lahore, of 7-5-1961.
2. Ibid.

the security money, but he asked Choudhary Rahmat Ali to quit his job as sub-editor.[1]

"I had the good fortune of being a class-fellow and a friend of Choudhary Rahmat Ali. I am talking of 1923, when we were together at the Law College, Lahore, and Rahmat Ali was living in a small flat in the building in which the office of your esteemed newspaper (*The Pakistan Times*) is now located. Even as early as 1923, Rahmat Ali used to expound his theory of "Indianism" and a separate homeland for the minorities—Muslims, Sikhs, Dravidians, etc. I remember that we Muslim students with Pan-Islamic leanings used to follow his discourses on these topics with much interest and used to meet at his flat in the evenings to hear his talk. He had a magnetic personality and I must admit that all of us who were in contact with him were greatly influenced by his well-reasoned arguments. But at that time we used to describe his dreams as Utopian. At that time, he used to raise his voice and shout that his dream would one day be realised. For his so-called rabid communalism, some Hindu students of the College approached the then Hindu Principal, Mr. Chatterji, and talked against Rahmat Ali. Later we learnt that the Principal had told the students that they should not give any importance to Rahmat Ali, as he was a mere dreamer and a mad mullah".[2]

For some time, Choudhary Rahmat Ali worked as Lecturer in Chiefs College in Lahore. "In those days many people from his ancestral village visited Lahore, and they would invariably come to visit Choudhary Rahmat Ali in his house, which was at that time near a mosque. But he was an incorrigible wanderer. He would leave his house in the morning, and return home very late in the evening . . . ." Whenever he wrote letters to his family or to his friends in his native village, he would sign them as "Choudhary Rahmat Ali Azad".[3] After some time, Choudhary Rahmat Ali left India for England to become a barrister and "Mr. Rahmat Ali finished education in England, obtaining M.A. and L.L.B. with honours from the Universities of Cambridge and Dublin".[4] While studying at Cambridge, Choudhary Rahmat Ali threw himself headlong

1. Choudhary Rahmat Ali: Iqbal Asad, In Iqdam, Lahore, of 7-5-1961.
2. The Forgotten Hero: Riaz A. Kureishy. The Pakistan Times, Lahore, 3-5-1964.
3. Ibid.
4. Inside India: Halide Edib, p. 352.

into propagating his pet views on the future of the Muslims of India. He firmly believed that in the north-western part of India, as also in the East and in Hyderabad Deccan, the Muslims should have their own homeland. He seems to have started his career of pamphleteering and haranguing Muslim students at Cambridge around 1930. He appears to have frequently visited London at the time of the Round Table Conferences and explained his point of view over the future of Muslim politics in the subcontinent. "Rahmat Ali's was the solitary voice which at that time warned the Muslims, as also the delegates attending the Round Table Conferences, of the dangers involved in the Muslims of this subcontinent being made a part and parcel of the Indian Federation."[1]

It was during the years 1930 and 1933 that he seems to have established "The Pakistan National Movement", with its headquarters on 16, Montague Road, Cambridge. On 28th January, 1933, he issued his first memorable pamphlet, "Now or Never; Are we to Live or Perish for Ever?" and the residential address of "Choudhary Rahmat Ali, Founder, Pakistan National Movement" is given as 3, Humberstone Road, Cambridge, England. The covering letter said, "I am enclosing herewith an appeal on behalf of the thirty million Muslims of Pakstan (it must be noted here that the letter 'i' is missing in the word 'Pakistan' as spelt by Choudhary Rahmat Ali at that time), who live in the five Northern Units of India—Punjab, North-West Frontier (Afghan) Province, Kashmir, Sind, and Baluchistan. It embodies their demand for the recognition of their national status, as distinct from other inhabitants of India, by the grant to Pakistan of a separate Federal Constitution on religious, social and historical grounds." The appeal, the pamphlet goes on to state, is being made at a critical moment, when the Muslims are engaged in a life and death struggle. India is not one country, but consists of parts that have "retained distinct nationalities of their own..... Our religion and culture, our history and tradition, our social code and economic system, our laws of inheritance, succession and marriage are fundamentally different from those of the peoples living in the rest of India..... We do not inter-dine; we do not intermarry. Our national customs and calendars, even our diet

1. The Forgotten Hero: M. Anwar. The Pakistan Times, Lahore, 23-3-1964.

and dress are different.....If we, the Muslims of Pakistan, with our distinct marks of nationality, are deluded into the proposed Indian Federation by friends and foes, we are reduced to a minority of one in two. This sounds the death-knell of our nation in Pakistan.....These are facts—hard facts and historic realities, which we challenge anybody to contradict .....We deserve and demand—the recognition of our national status by the grant to Pakistan of a Federal Constitution, separate from the rest of India."[1]

The pamphlet goes on to give more reasons for the establishment of Pakstan as a separate nation, apart from that of India, over which the Hindu nation would live in sovereign status. "*We have suffered in the past without a murmur and* faced dangers without demur, but the one thing we would never suffer is our self-strangulation. We would never crucify ourselves upon the cross of Hindu nationalism in order to make a Hindu-holiday.....We dare say that in our nation the ancient fire of Islam still glows and promises much for the future of mankind, if only they would let us live.... Let us make no mistake about it. The issue is now or never. Either we live or perish for ever. The future is ours, if we live up to our faith. It does not lie in the laps of gods; it rests in our own hands. We alone can make or mar it."[2]

Choudhary Rahmat Ali sent this tract to hundreds of Muslim leaders in India, and distributed it among the Muslim delegates at the Round Table Conferences, as also among top-ranking political leaders of England. It formed the basis of a number of questions at the time of the sittings of the Joint Committee.

"Question 9598. SIR REGINALD CRADDOCK: If any of the Delegates or the witnesses would like to answer, will they tell me whether there is a scheme for Federation of Provinces under the name of Pakistan?

Answer 9598. ABDULLAH YUSUF ALI, C. B. E.: As far as I know it is only a student's scheme; no responsible people have put it forward.

1. Now or Never : Are We To Live Or Perish For Ever? Choudhary Rahmat Ali. Folster & Jagg, Cambridge, 1933.
2. Ibid.

SIR REGINALD CRADDOCK: They have not so far, but as you say, you advance very quickly in India, and it may be when those students grow up it will be put forward; that scheme must be in the minds of the people, anyhow.

MR. ZAFRULLAH KHAN: What is the question?

SIR REGINALD CRADDOCK: I wanted to know whether the witnesses had acquaintance with a scheme which was drawn up for what is called Pakistan.

MR. ZAFRULLAH KHAN: We have already had the reply that it was a student's scheme and there is nothing in it. What is the further question.

Question 9599. MR. ISAAC FOOT: What is Pakistan?

Answer 9599. MR. ZAFRULLAH KHAN: So far as we have considered it, we have considered it chimerical and impracticable. It means the Federation of certain Provinces.

Question 9600. SIR REGINALD CRADDOCK: I have received communications about the proposal of forming certain Muslim states under the name of Pakistan.

Answer 9600. DR KHALIFA SHUJAUDDIN: Perhaps it will be enough to say that no such scheme has been considered by any representative gentlemen or association so far."[1]

In another pamphlet, published in 1933, entitled, "What Does the Pakistan National Movement Stand For?" Choudhary Rahmat Ali wrote against a Federal Constitution for India. He has made in it a blistering attack on what he calls "Indianism", which he says has enslaved many peoples of South Asia, including the Muslims of the subcontinent. Among the aims and objects of the Pakistan National Movement are listed, "I.

1. Minutes of Evidence. Joint Committee on Indian Constitutional Reform. Vol. II, page 1496. London 1934.

The spiritual liberation of the nations of South Asia from the secular thraldom of 'Indianism.' II. The cultural liberation of the nations of South Asia from the barbarian influence of 'Indianism.' III. Their cultural liberation. IV. Their social liberation. V. Their economic liberation. VI. Their national liberation. VII. The creation of a new order of 'Asianism' to take the place of the old order of 'Indianism' in South Asia."[1]

Those who were students at that time in England, and who were in contact with Choudhary Rahmat Ali have paid him the highest tributes for his selfless services and his dedication to the cause of Pakistan in those difficult days. "Rahmat Ali's magnetic personality attracted and inspired the young Muslim student community in England and it was quite common, while Rahmat Ali was living at Burnt Oak in the County of Middlesex, for students to assemble at his house in the evening and hear his inspired discourses on Pakistan, at which Pakistan would be the sole topic of discussion or dissertation till the early hours of the morning and this would continue day after day. Without repeating himself, Rahmat Ali would each day throw fresh light on a new facet of his thesis. That he was a complete master of the theory he was advocating will be apparent from the numerous tracts, pamphlets and articles that he wrote and published from time to time right up to the time of his death."[2]

On the question of the etymology of Pakistan and who was the first to coin the word "Pakistan", there was controversy for some time, until it was finally established that the first to coin the word and to use the word in his writings was Choudhary Rahmat Ali. "The term *Pakistan* was apparently coined by Choudhary Rahmat Ali some time before 1933, and is said by him to have been first published in a cyclostyled pamphlet entitled "Now or Never" which he issued to his supporters in January, 1933. A wide search for this pamphlet in libraries in Britain and abroad proved unavailing."[3] R. W. Burchfield continued his search for this pamphlet, "Now or Never", and it was through the help of K. A. Waheed that

1. What Does The Pakistan National Movement Stand For? Choudhary Rahmat Ali. Odham Press, Watford, 1933.
2. The Forgotten Hero: M. Anwar.
3. Etymology of Pakistan : R. W. Burchfield. Notes and Queries, London. April 1960.

Burchfield received a copy of "Now or Never". Having received a copy of the pamphlet, he wrote, "I am glad to say that a copy of this pamphlet has now been found".[1] Referring to these two articles in *Notes and Queries*, S. Sharifuddin Pirzada writes, "It was found that Choudhary Rahmat Ali originated the term......The term Pakistan appears for the first time in the reprint of the forwarding letter".[2]

His work and his message had a magnetic appeal for many Muslim students, and many of them joined him and supported his movement. "The impact of Rahmat Ali's personality was immediate. What one saw was a man with big sparkling eyes and faith writ large on his face. He spoke with a fervour and a zeal such as only a man possessed is capable of".[3] He continued to produce and distribute pamphlets, one after another. In one of these, he wrote, "Already the sombre hour has struck and the supreme trial of our faith and fibre, of our sincerity and sanity, and of our declaration and deeds is near at hand. And, presently we are going to be weighed so strongly in the iron-scales of eternal values that even the spirits of our martyrs and heroes call upon us to make sure that this time we are not found wanting".[4] By this time, Choudhary Rahmat Ali had already begun to talk of independent homelands for Muslims in Bengal, to be known as "Bang-i-Islam", and in Hyderabad (Deccan,) to be known as "Usmanistan".

That Choudhary Rahmat Ali was imbued with missionary zeal in propagating the scheme for Pakistan after it was started in 1933 is evident from his interviews with many foreign writers and scholars, the most notable among them being that great Turkish traveller and writer, Madame Halide Edib. She writes she met in 1937 in London and then in Paris, "Mr. Rahmat Ali, the founder of the (Pakistan) Movement". She writes she was convinced that his views had been formed, as his politics were based on religion, and as he felt that Muslims could expect no quarter either from the Hindus or from British Imperialism, which was a sworn enemy of Islam. She asked him what the origin of the Pakistan Movement was.

1. *Etymology of Pakistan* : R. W. Burchfield. *Notes and Queries*, London. July 1961.
2. *Etymology of Pakistan* : S. Sharifuddin Pirzada. *Dawn*, 23-3-1963.
3. *The Forgotten Hero* : M. Anwar. *The Pakistan Times*, 19-7-1964.
4. *Millat of Islam and The Menace of Indianism* : Choudhary Rahmat Ali. 1938.

Rahmat Ali said that one must go through the history of the last one hundred years. "The Muslim Empire fell in 1857.........The Muslims had their homelands in Pakistan; that is, Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, (also called Afghan province), Kashmir, Sind and Baluchistan. The name Pakistan I derived from the names of these five Provinces."

She asked him if it was possible to obtain Pakistan without the consent of the British. Choudhary Rahmat Ali said, "We have done our best to convince them that Pakistan for us is a life and death necessity. But they decline to consider our demand. And we, on our part, refuse to surrender our national heritage......Out of a total number of the League of Nations, no less than fiftyone are smaller than Pakistan—both in population and in area....The seed sown in 1933 has taken root and our work is progressing favourably..... The present may frown on us, but I have my eyes fixed on the future, which is sure to smile on our sacred cause".

Halide Edib inquired if Pakistan would be an economic success. "Why not?" he replied. "Pakistan has vast resources—*both moral and material, and with the exit of British* imperialism and Hindu capitalism we can surely pay our way .....We have a first class port in Karachi." How right Choudhary Rahmat Ali has proved to be. Describing his views on Pakistan that was to be, he said, "It will be fundamentally both democratic and socialist". He continued that in its fundamentals, the problem of Pakistan was a dispute between two nations, "Muslims for survival, and Hindus for supremacy..... The Jumna is the boundary river between Pakistan and Hindustan, and across it we stretch our hand of goodwill and friendship to Hindustan. Will they grasp it in the spirit of good neighbours, recognising Pakistan as we do Hindustan?"[1]

It is said that Choudhary Rahmat Ali was on a visit to India around the time that the all-India Muslim League session was meeting in Lahore on 22nd, 23rd and 24th March, 1940. But it is not evident on any reliable authority as to whether an

1. All these extracts are from Inside India: Halid Edib. pp. 351-362.

invitation was issued to him or not to attend the session, and, if it was extended to him, why he did not attend the session.

In the forties, Choudhary Rahmat Ali started the Dinia Continental Movement in England, and in a pamphlet published in 1945 by the Movement, entitled, "India—the continent of Dinia or the country of Doom, he wrote, "For centuries Muslims had blindly submitted to the myth of Indianism and suffered domination... We must rise to exercise our right and to fulfil our duty in order to create the continent of Dinia. We must realise that whatever may be our differences on other issues, the cause of the continent of Dinia is common to us all; and that on its success depends the national position and status of us all—Muslims, Achoots, Christians, Sikhs, Budhs and Parsis".

In August, 1947, Pakistan came to be established, and in 1948 Choudhary Rahmat Ali visited Pakistan. "He stayed with Dr. Yar Muhamed Khan, in his house on MacLeod Road in Lahore. His life was that of a sufi.... Mian Mohamed Shafi of *The Pakistan Times* published an interview with him, which was also published in many newspapers of Lahore. The Government of India protested against this interview and our Government did not appreciate his services. He was down-hearted. He had a heart attack. His doctors advised him rest at the port of Karachi, where he proceeded for rest and recuperation. He hired a small room on Jail Road, and installed some furniture in it, as he intended to stay there permanently. Then on the advice of Begum Shaista Ikramullah and Iqbal Shadhai, he went along with them to Europe, from where the three sent an appeal to the U.N.O. in defence of the rights of Muslims in Kashmir".[1]

He was now back in England, where, since the days of his youth, he had been propagating his life's mission—a proper understanding of the justification of the cause of Pakistan. Those days now lay far behind, and Pakistan, once a dream, was now an accomplished fact. Gone were the days of propaganda, of lecturing, of haranguing students, of constant travelling for a cause. He was not exactly old, only fiftysix. But in that twilight of his life, he must have felt a very lonely man—far from the land of his dreams, Pakistan. He

1. Choudhary Rahmat Ali: Iqbal Asad. Aqdam, Lahore, 7-5-1961.

realised that his phenomenal physical stamina had trickled away; he was now both sick and weak. The end came, peacefully, on 12th February, 1951.

"He lies buried in Woking without even an epitaph on his grave. This son of Pakistan, who fought for Pakistan in exile, also lies buried in exile. He deserved a niche of honour in the land of Pakistan. Will we take steps to revive the memory of 'The Forgotten Hero' and build in his memory a memorial worthy of his place in the history of Pakistan?"[1]

2. The Forgotten Hero: M. Anwar. The Pakistan Times, Lahore. 23-3-1964.

NAWAB BAHADUR YAR JANG

(1905—1944)

"If India were to produce another Mohamed Ali, it would be none other than Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang. The two had many things in common—the same sincerity; the same religious fervour; the same burning desire for service; the same farsightedness; the same capacity for tolerance and understanding; the same fortitude; the same nobility. Whenever one hears complaints against the Muslim League, one can take relief in the thought that there is a *Momin* like Bahadur Yar Jang present to prevent the League from taking a step in the wrong direction."[1] Such was the faith that Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang had inspired in the minds of millions of Muslims all over India, who either heard him in person or who read his writings in various newspapers and magazines. The very basis of his thinking and action was Islam and the service of the world of Islam, for which he was not prepared to accept any compromise; or to yield and bend before any pressure; or hesitate to make any sacrifice, however great; or to prefer personal advancement over the interests of his people; or to shirk any task however hazardous. He was, indeed, a soldier in the service of Islam, and his total achievement in that field was like a diamond of many facets, each more dazzling than the other.

Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang came from an aristocratic family of Hyderabad Deccan. His ancestors, belonging to the tribe known as Pani Pathans, came to India from Afghanistan. They came with the conquering armies of Ahmed Shah Abdali in the first half of the eighteenth century. One of them was Mahomed Bahadur Khan, who was the third son of Mohamed Daulat Khan.[2] When the dust and din of battle had

1. A Press Statement: Maulana Daryabadi.
2. Aftab-e-Deccan: Hamidullah Khan Shaida, pp. 48-49.

subsided, while many officers and soldiers returned to Afghanistan, their original home, some families decided to permanently settle down in India. One of them was the family of Mahomed Daulat Khan. They made Bara Basti in the State of Jaipur, their home, where they continued to live for over a hundred years. In the first half of the nineteenth century this family, for reasons not clearly recorded anywhere, migrated to Hyderabad in 1235 A.H. in the days of Nawab Sikandar Jah. The brave and warrior-like Pani Pathans were soon assimilated into the local population, and they played an important role in strengthening the forces of Hyderabad, which succeeded in keeping the menacing Mahrattas at bay. The services of this family of Pani Pathans were too conspicuous to be overlooked, and they were generously appreciated. A very large *Jagir* was conferred on this family, besides being presented with a gift of a number of elephants and horses.

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the head of this family was Nawab Nasib Yawar Jang, a man of great wealth and of high status in Hyderabad. Through his marriage to a young lady of Hyderabad State was born a son, whom they named Mahomed Bahadur Khan after their ancestor. As ill-luck would have it, the mother died on the seventh day after the child was born and Bahadur Khan was taken care of by his maternal grandmother, who brought him up as if he were her own son. Mohamed Bahadur Khan was put under the charge of able teachers at home, under whom he took his first lessons in religion. He proved to be a precocious child, and early in life showed signs of great talent, being religiously devoted to his books and his studies. As he grew up, he entered a public school for further studies, keeping up a keen interest in his book. While yet in his teens, Mohamed Bahadur Khan came to hear of the general appeal for funds to help the Muslim sufferers of Smyrna. Emotional by nature and public-spirited by inclination, this young school student went from door to door, collecting funds for the stricken people of Smyrna.

In 1923, while a student in the matric class of Madressah Dar-ul-Uloom, his father died. Finding there no alternative he had to start looking after his ancestral

properties. Mohamed Bahadur Khan was forced to give up his studies. The father, Nawab Nasib Yar Jang, had lived on a lavish scale, spending much beyond his means, and the son soon discovered that he had inherited from his father debts amounting to about five hundred thousand rupees. The creditors were clamouring for their dues, only to be told that he should be given time, and that he would pay them to the last rupee. He drastically cut down all expenditure and began to live a frugal and simple life, a life shorn of all aristocratic grandeur and pomp. He managed his affairs remarkably well, with the result that while income from his lands increased, his overall expenses stood considerably reduced. He was, therefore, able to pay the instalments to his father's creditors, scaling down the debts every year. He continued to plod away on this difficult task for eight years after which he heaved a sigh of relief, when he found himself disburdened of the crippling weight of heavy debts.

After having discharged all his debts, Bahadur Yar Jang decided to perform the Haj, accompanied by his Begum. The two spent some time, after performing Haj, travelling all over the Middle East and Afghanistan. This first visit of Bahadur Yar Jang widened his horizons, in so far as the world of Islam was concerned, and during his wide travels he made friends with some leading political figures in most of these countries. On his return to India, Bahadur Yar Jang delivered public lectures, sharing his experiences, along with his observations on the problems of these Muslim countries with large audiences that came to listen to his talks. At one such meeting, Khwaja Hasan Nizami, an influential religious leader and a renowned Sufi, was present, and was tremendously impressed with the depth of thought of Bahadur Yar Jang, and his vivid and life-like descriptions of his extensive travels. Hasan Nizami, after the talk was over, rose and said, "Bahadur Yar Jang is truly an Ibn-e-Batuta of India".

Bahadur Yar Jang continued to take keen interest in the political advancement of Muslim countries, and was in constant correspondence with some important Muslim political leaders. On the 31st of May, 1937, he wrote a letter to His Excellency Mustafa Nahas Pasha, President of the Wafd Party in Egypt, reminding

him of their meeting in Cairo in June 1931, "You were kind enough to come to see me in Hotel Metropolitan. I have been very keenly studying the political developments in Egypt.......I am sending you this letter through four Indian Muslim young men, who will be visiting Egypt". On the 31st of January, 1938, Nawab Saheb wrote a letter to His Excellency Mahomed Ali Pasha of Egypt, saying he was writing to the Pasha after a long time, and that the people of Hyderabad would not forget the visit of His Excellency and of Mufti-e Azam of Islam, Sayed Ameen-ul-Husainy. "We Indian Muslims are as much disturbed and concerned with the political turmoil in Egypt and Palestine as you yourselves must be. Our sympathies and support are with you. We wish you every success in your noble efforts."[1]

The fame of Bahadur Yar Jang as a brilliant orator gathered round him an admiring following among the masses, and the aristocracy of Hyderabad began to look upon him with respect and admiration. Imbued with missionary zeal, Bahadur Yar Jang started in 1927 the Majalis Tabligh-e-Islam, and in that connection extensively travelled all over Hyderabad Deccan, addressing scores of public meetings, and setting up branches of the Majlis in a number of cities. His missionary work, spread over years, began to bear fruit, and thousands of non-Muslims accepted Islam at his hands. This was a period when Arya Samajists were intensively active in their anti-Islam attitude under their leader, Swami Dayanand Saraswati, and they raised a storm of protest against Bahadur Yar Jang, levelling all sorts of wild and nonsensical charges against him. Articles appeared against him in leading Hindu newspapers and magazines, posters blared their protests against Bahadur Yar Jang. Undisturbed at this devilish agitation, Bahadur Yar Jang went on fearlessly propagating the message of Islam. Funds came pouring into the offices of the Majlis, due to which it was possible to engage a number of missionaries, who spread over the country-side of Hyderabad Deccan. Bahadur Yar Jang was a source of inspiration to all of them; he was their protector, their friend, philosopher and guide.

At about this time, Bahadur Yar Jang started giving lectures on the life of the Holy Prophet of Islam. These lectures soon

1. Maktateeb Bahadur Yar Jang : Bahadur Yar Jang Academy, Karachi, 1967. pp. 76-79.

became the meeting place of tens of thousands of Muslims, eager to listen to this great orator and scholar. Princes and peasants flocked to hear him, until the fame of his oratory and his masterly scholarship reached the ears of the Nizam himself. One night, in 1930, as Bahadur Yar Jang was addressing one such gathering at the Victory Playground, the Nizam, unannounced, appeared and sat to listen. Bahadur Yar Jang continued his discourse. Raising his voice, and fixing his eyes on the Nizam, he thundred, "Listen, you who are a slave of the Holy Prophet of Islam, pomp and throne adorns whose head. Come, listen. I will tell you what the conception of a ruler was in the eyes of our Prophet". The moving description of the virtues and the way of life of the Prophet deeply impressed the Nizam, from whose eyes tears began to roll in profusion. The talk was over, but its gossamer influence continued to sway the emotions of the Nizam, who sat there for a long time, as if in a trance, under the magic influence of Bahadur Yar Jang's oratory. Soon thereafter, the Nizam issued a *Firman*, conferring on him the title of Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang.[1]

The echoes of his speeches on the life of the Holy Prophet were heard outside Hyderabad Deccan, and Nawab Saheb was flooded with invitations from many parts of India. His daily post now had increased manifold and he developed the habit of devoting one hour in the morning reading and answering letters that he received. In spite of a busy life in his own city, he sometimes visited other cities in India and addressed numerous gatherings on his favourite subject. It is a great loss to posterity that these speeches have neither been tape-recorded or transcribed and published in book form. For, they certainly contained a wealth of material on our Holy Prophet's life, told in inspiring, moving and soul-lifting language, probably unequalled in India by others who have spoken on the same subject.

The Khaksar movement, started at about this time by Allama Mashriqui, had caught the imagination of many Muslims, due to its stoical discipline and its spectacular parades and practices. Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang seems to have been a very emotional man, for he fell under the spell of Allama

1. Based on a preface on the life of Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang by Samdani Naqvi, p. 43

Mashriqui and joined the Khaksar movement in 1938, as one of its very active and prominent members. Those that have met and discussed politics with Allama Mashriqui will bear me out, when I say that he was dictatorial in his thinking and in his deeds. I often met Allama Mashriqui in the early forties, when he was staying in the house of G. M. Syed, as his guest, opposite Patel Park in Karachi. At that time, G. M. Syed was one of the most important leaders of the Muslim League and often Syed and I would discuss with Allama Mashriqui Muslim political problems. It was our constant endeavour to prove to him that Muslims could not get a better leader than Quaid-e-Azam and that the policies pursued by the Muslim League under the leadership of the Quaid were calculated to ensure a sound future for the Muslims of India. I found Allama Mashriqui had no patience with the point of view of another person, and that he would lose his temper easily, and shout at us, as if the whole truth was on his side. Be that as it may, it seems Nawab Saheb was captivated by the personality and work of Allama Mashriqui, and he was greatly devoted to him as a Khaksar. The British Government viewed the activities of the Khaksars as fascist and against their interests as rulers of India. In 1941, the Government arrested Allama Mashriqui, who went on hunger-strike in Vellore jail. Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang sent a cable to the Viceroy on 6th November, 1941, seeking permission to join the Allama in jail and to look after him in his capacity as *Hakim Aala* of the Khaksar movement. He also sent a cable to the Quaid-e-Azam in Delhi to intervene in the matter and to plead with the Viceroy for the release of Allama Mashriqui. The Viceroy asked Nawab Saheb to write to the Governor of Madras, as Vellore was under his jurisdiction. On 18th November, 1941, Nawab Saheb repeated his request by letter to the Governor of Madras. In spite of his best efforts, this permission was never granted to the Nawab Saheb. By 1943, it was clear from the writings and speeches of Allama Mashriqui that he was openly praising Gandhi and opposing the Quaid-e-Azam, for whom Nawab Saheb had great reverence. Besides, he seriously believed that by opposing the Quaid and the League, one was only attempting to sabotage the struggle of the Muslims for their freedom and for their homeland. The

anti-League attitude of Allama Mashriqui deeply wounded the feelings of Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang. Then came the news that a Khaksar had made an unsuccessful attempt in Bombay on the life of Quaid-e-Azam. Nawab Saheb now lost all faith in the leadership of Allama Mashriqui. In his letter of resignation addressed to Allama Mashriqui in November 1943, Nawab Saheb wrote, "In spite of the fact that I subscribe to the aims and objects of the Khaksar movement, I have ceased to have confidence in your leadership, and in your capacity to be a good leader. For this reason, I hereby declare openly that I am no longer connected in any way with the Khaksar movement". On 15th November, 1943, the Council of the All-India Muslim League passed a resolution in Delhi, condemning this dastardly attack on the life of the Quaid. This resolution was, in fact, the embodiment of the feelings of Muslims all over India.

Some public spirited citizens of Hyderabad had started a socio-religious organisation in 1933, known as Majlis-e Ittehad-ul-Mussalmeen, and it worked strictly within the boundaries of those two fields. But in 1939, Nawab Saheb was elected its President for the first time, and under his leadership the Majlis began to take a different shape. His conscious efforts soon made the Majlis into the focal point and mouthpiece of the political demands of the Muslims of Hyderabad Deccan, and in that capacity it went from strength to strength, rendering unforgettable services for the political advancement of the Muslims of the State. Nawab Saheb gave one of his own buildings to house the Majlis, but as its financial position improved, he bought a three-storeyed building in Hyderabad City, which was converted into the Headquarters of the Majlis, and it was named *Dar-ul-Islam*. It is not easy to visualise the daring and courage that was necessary to act as the spearhead of the political demands of the masses against the Ruler of an Indian State. But when it came to serving his people, Nawab Saheb was undaunted. He used the platform of the Majlis to ventilate the political grievances of the people against the Government. This disturbed the complacency of the Nizam, and a number of manoeuvres were initiated to win over Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang by offering him tempting prizes. When these failed to gag the voice of Nawab Saheb,

the Nizam sounded him on the possibility of accepting the Chief Ministership of the state, the highest office he could offer. Even this could not shift his loyalty from the people to the princes, and Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang continued his political work in the service of the masses. They were his masters; and he did not want to change masters. Then came threats, veiled at first, and later open and severe, demanding that he stop his public speeches, which were highly critical of Government policies. But Nawab Saheb was made of sterner stuff than those in authority had imagined. He believed, "If the path leads one to a destination other than the one imagined by the Holy Quran, then that goal is no different from hell itself".[1]

Both the Indian National Congress and the Muslim League, ever since their inception, had refrained from forming their branches in Indian States, conditions in some of which were worse than feudal. Occasionally there arose freedom fighters in some of the Indian States, but the rod of the tyrant soon silenced the tongue of the rebel and the reformer. But around 1937, the Congress decided to start a parallel organisation called the States Peoples Conference, in all Indian States, so that the grievances of the States' peoples could be ventilated and then supported by the Congress. The Muslim League did not immediately follow suit. At this time Abdus Samad Rajasthani of Rajasthan toured many Indian States, with a view to arouse the Muslims of those States to forming a similar organisation for the Muslims of Indian States. He visited Hyderabad Deccan and found in Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang an enthusiastic supporter of the idea, and an eminently suited leader to head the organisation. It was decided in 1938 that some outstanding Muslim leaders of Indian States meet in Patna at the time of the open annual session of the Muslim League, which was to meet under the presidentship of the Quaid-e Azam, in order to explore the possibilities of starting a States League for the Muslims. Among the most prominent leaders that met for this purpose in Patna were Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang, Abdus Samad Rajasthani, Choudhri Ghulam Abbas of Kashmir and Manzar-e-Alam of Gwalior. They had

1. Based on a preface on the life of Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang by Samdani Naqvi, p. 47

consultations with the Quaid-e-Azam, who was favourably inclined. The following year there was no annual session of the League. However, the State leaders met in 1939 in a preliminary meeting to form the States League. A favourable decision in principle was taken and certain tentative resolutions were adopted. But when the Muslim League met in open session in the historic Lahore Session of 1940, it was officially decided to start the All-India States Muslim League, with Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang as its President, and Mahmud-ul-Hasan of Bhopal as General Secretary. Abdus Samad Rajasthani, Chaudhri Ghulam Abbas and Manzar-e Alam were among those elected to the Working Committee.

This was a period of our history, when the demand for Pakistan was crystallising into a positive ideology and it was important to demonstrate that the Muslims of the entire subcontinent supported it, out of which the population of Muslims in Indian States constituted quite an appreciable percentage. While the Quaid-e-Azam undertook the work of touring and organising Muslims of British India to support the League and the demand for Pakistan, it fell to the lot of Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang and his colleagues to bring about that revolution among the Muslims of Indian States. Against heavy odds, Nawab Saheb shouldered the responsibility of popularising the All-India States Muslim League. Thus to Nawab Saheb goes the credit of contributing an appreciable share in our struggle for freedom. The States Muslim League continued to hold its annual sessions on the same day and at the same place as the annual session of the All-India Muslim League, so that they would always have the advice and guidance of the Quaid-e Azam, before they formulated their policies and adopted their resolutions. As the Quaid and Nawab Saheb were great friends, the advice of Quaid-e-Azam was always easily available for the benefit of the States Muslim League. Nawab Saheb continued to be its President until his death in 1944, whereafter Manzar-e-Alam of Gwalior was elected in his place.

Although he was now an all India political leader and was also in the forefront among Muslim leaders, his loyalty to propagating Islam continued unabated. In spite of his heavy political responsibilities, every day after early morning prayers, he would conduct classes in a mosque opposite his house where

he would teach students the Holy Quran and Islamic history. While his day started with religious preaching, it invariably ended with a political speech at night in some public meeting. His speeches now began to take account of what was happening to Muslims in British India, and covered a much wider canvas. He bitterly and severely criticised the British Government for its anti-Indian and anti-Muslim attitude, and thundered like a lion demanding freedom and a homeland for the Muslims of India. At times, he also criticised the work and policies of the State Government. The Nizam was soon under pressure from the Viceroy in Delhi to stop these outspoken speeches of Nawab Saheb, that shook the Indian States like an earthquake. The Nizam was himself disturbed at the activities of Bahadur Yar Jang, and now came to him orders from above. He jumped at the opportunity, and imposed restrictions on Bahadur Yar Jang from making a public speech anywhere, inside the State or outside. Soon after this restriction was put into effect, Quaid-e-Azam was worried about the general elections that were to be held in the North-Western Frontier Province, where the Khudai Khidmatgars, under the leadership of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan were well entrenched, and they were pro-Congress. It was a crucial election, and the Quaid realised that Bahadur Yar Jang could be most useful on this occasion to move the brave Pathans to support the Muslim League candidates in the election. But Nawab Saheb was debarred from speaking in public anywhere in India. The Quaid wrote to the Nizam a personal letter that at that critical period of the history of Muslims of India, the Nizam should waive the restriction and allow Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang to proceed to the Frontier on a lecture tour in support of Muslim League candidates. The Nizam gave the permission, and Nawab Saheb was absorbed in a whirlwind tour of the Frontier, addressing a number of public speeches every day in support of Pakistan. His efforts bore fruit and the Muslim League achieved much greater success than had been anticipated.

The rise of Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang as a political leader was both rapid and meteoric, rousing the jealousy of many Nawabs of Hyderabad State. They tried to frighten the Nizam by absurd stories, suggesting that Bahadur Yar Jang

was not loyal to the Nizam. Princely ears are prone to accept gossip as truth, and the Nizam's attitude towards Bahadur Yar Jang stiffened. Undaunted by royal displeasure, and unafraid of menacing frowns on princely foreheads, Bahadur Yar Jang continued his political work. He was a straightforward man, believing in clean play. He was not at home with intrigues that usually go with a royal court; he detested and opposed them. But what could he do, when he found many people high in royal favour running him down, in season and out of season. Disgusted at the dirty atmosphere, he recorded his dignified protest by surrendering all his titles and jagirs. He received numerous messages and letters from Muslims all over India, congratulating him on the bold and selfless stand that he had taken. He continued to be the darling of the crowds, wherever he went, although he was no longer a Nawab. Greatness remains greatness, whether it be clothed in the robes of titles or not.

As a matter of fact, Nawab Saheb began to give from now on more time to his public activities. His speeches at the annual sessions of the States League and of the Muslim League had become a national institution. He spent most of his time in organising Muslims of Indian States. In this connection, he found that the disabilities and tyrannies inflicted on the Muslims of Kashmir State deserved special attention. He lost no time in bringing them to the attention of the Quaid-e Azam. He announced that a session would be held in Srinagar on 13th, 14th and 15th August, 1943, of the All-Jammu and Kashmir Muslim Conference, and that Quaid-e-Azam and he would both address the Conference. Months before the date of the Conference, preparations were afoot and posters were pasted all over Kashmir announcing the holding of the Conference.

Nawab Saheb on the invitation of Aurangzeb Khan visited Peshawar on his way to Kashmir, and then came to Rawalpindi, leaving it on 12th August, 1943, on his way to Kashmir, accompanied by his Begum. At the checkpost on Kashmir border, he was forcibly deprived of his pistol, as he did not have a licence that would entitle him to carry the firearm in Kashmir territory. But when he reached Srinagar, the Government of Kashmir got him arrested in the early hours of the morning on a day prior to the date of the Conference. The weather

was threatening and foul, dark clouds having gathered all over Srinagar and its environs. Nawab Saheb was put in a police truck, taken miles outside Srinagar, and while rain was pouring, he was pushed out of the truck in a thick jungle, left to his own resources, warned not to enter Srinagar and to leave Kashmir State as early as possible. "He was neither allowed to take his bedding or his attache case with him. His Begum was prevented from accompanying him."[1]

Quaid-e-Azam, due to his pressing preoccupations elsewhere, could not visit Kashmir, and Nawab Saheb sent to him a letter giving details of his externment from Kashmir. Finding his letters and telegrams were not being delivered to him in Hyderabad, he was worried that his letters and telegrams to his friends and associates may also be destroyed by the authorities or not allowed to reach their destination. A cautious and panicky Government was watching carefully every move of Bahadur Yar Jang. He wrote a letter on 3rd September, 1943, to the Post and Telegraph authorities in New Delhi, "I have the honour to draw your attention to certain events which have given unnecessary anxiety to the public all over India, owing to, I presume, interception or non-delivery of my letters and telegrams from and to Murree Hills offices. No telegram or letter posted from Hyderabad was delivered to me during my stay between 15th and 22nd August 1943, although I had reported my address to the Post Master immediately after my arrival at Murree". He was a rebel against the British Government, and the latter in its turn did everything possible to make life unbearable for him. On the same day, not sure whether his previous letters to the Quaid had reached him or not, he wrote to Quaid-e Azam, "Immediately I found a footing after my externment from Kashmir, I took the first opportunity to write to you the details of events that took place in Kashmir, so that I may keep you in contact with the Kashmir Muslims and my own self. I was all alone at Murree and I had to rely on my own oars. I received your kind telegram through the Nawab of Mamdot which gave me no light and took me no further. According to insructions I called Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan but he had left for Mussouri. I am not writing him about my visit

1. Based on a preface on the life of Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang by Samdani Naqvi, p. 55

to his place in Delhi. I have reached Hyderabad safely with my Begum".[1]

The Begum was a devoted wife, bearing patiently all the problems that go with an aristocratic family, which was passing through financial difficulties. "The nation is as much indebted to Begum Saheba as to Nawab Saheb. It was she who freed Nawab Saheb from the cares and worries of household and of managing his landed properties, having taken them all upon herself. He was thus free to serve the nation. In spite of her busy life as a housewife, she was a true and constant companion of Nawab Saheb in his political work and in his travels."[2]

Nawab Saheb paid particular attention to the problems of the Muslims of Kashmir and was anxious to win them over to the Muslim League point of view, and in this he proved in the eyes of history to be farsighted. On 11th February, 1944, he wrote a letter to the Quaid-e-Azam saying he was sorry he could not have a detailed talk with him at the time of the Conference in Karachi, except to exchange a few words at a dinner at the Karachi Club. However, he continues, the speech he made at the Conference, in obedience to the Quaid's orders had gone a long way to remove many misunderstandings in the minds of young Muslims about the Quaid. Then he reverts to the Kashmir Muslims, "I am troubling you with this letter today, as I want to once again remind you about the Muslims of Kashmir. I read in the papers that Shaikh Abdullah, leader of the National Conference, was to meet you. But I don't know whether the two of you did actually meet or not..... I had discussed various matters connected with some Indian States with the political adviser to the Vicerory in Delhi, and in particular I discussed with him the question of Kashmir Muslims. I beg of you, in spite of other pressing problems that deserve your attention, give this problem serious consideration".[3] From one of his letters, it would appear that at one time Nawab Saheb had great hopes in Shaikh Abdullah as the saviour of Kashmiri Muslims. Nawab Saheb wrote to Shaikh Abdullah on 19th June, 1938, "Political

1. Mukateeb Bahadur Yar Jang : Bahadur Yar Jang Academy, Karachi, 1967.
2. Aftab-e-Deccan: Hamidullah Shaeda. p. 163.
3. Ibid. p. 521.

conditions in Hyderabad are getting worse day by day. I pray to God that He may keep you in good health, and may Kashmiri Muslims produce many more leaders like you."[1]

I have heard Nawab Saheb address mammoth meetings at the time of the open sessions of the All-India Muslim League, the most memorable of these being his speech in 1942 at the Allahabad session and in 1943 at the Karachi session. As I listened to his great oration at the April 1942 session, I felt as if I was in a trance. He was translating in Urdu for the benefit of the masses what Quaid-e-Azam had said in his presidential address, along with his own comments on the political situation in the country, with special reference to the Cripps' Proposals, which were under discussion. The following day there was a dinner at the residence of a Muslim League leader of Allahabad, where the Quaid-e-Azam, Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang and other leaders were present. As soon as I saw Nawab Saheb, I rushed towards him, with my right hand out-stretched. He held my hand in his and I felt as my grandson must feel when he holds my hand. For, Nawab Saheb was, both literally and figuratively, a giant of a man. I congratulated him on his brilliant oration of the previous evening. "Nawab Saheb," I said, "if God were to ask me to make a wish and say that He would fulfil it, I would beg of Him on bended knees to give me the power of speech He has gifted to Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang."

The Karachi session of 1943, where I heard Nawab Saheb deliver his memorable address, was the last of these sessions. "Those who gathered from all parts of the subcontinent at Artillery Maidan on Frere Road, where the Pakistan Secretariat Blocks are now standing, must be remembering still his forceful and straightforward speech in which he explained the aims and objects of the Pakistan Movement. When he declared during his speech that the Constitution of Pakistan would be based on Islamic principles, Quaid-e-Azam thumping the table had enthusiastically affirmed his statement."[2]

Nawab Saheb was a great admirer of Iqbal, and in order to popularise his poetry, Nawab Saheb started giving lectures on the poetry and philosophy of Iqbal every Friday after evening

1. Aftab-e-Deccan: Hamidullah Shaeda, p. 136.
2. Nawab Bahadur Yar Jang: Masud Jawed. Dawn, 25-6-1968.

prayers. To him goes the credit for organising the first ever "Iqbal Day" to be held anywhere in India. He was one of the greatest supporters of Urdu, and in this connection his whole life was a dedicated chapter to the advancement of Urdu. As far as he himself was concerned, he was a great prose writer in Urdu and unparalleled as a speaker in Urdu.

At the beginning of 1944, Nawab Saheb found his throat was in bad shape and that he was hardly able to speak aloud. He reduced the number of his talking engagements, which meant curtailment of his political activities. He took to gardening as a hobby, and was anxious to grow a number of varieties of mangoes in his garden. In this connection he wrote a letter to I. I. Chundrigar in Bombay on 23rd June, 1943. "I want to plant alphanso mangoes in my garden. I understand that your Secretary, Abdul Ghafoor Kazi, has friendly connections with mango growers in Ratnagiri.....Please request him on my behalf to send me twentyfive mango trees from Ratnagiri of alphanso mangoes. Please send them by V.P.P., and I shall make payment of the parcel on receipt."

He had accepted to preside over the session of the States Muslim League at Jubbulpore, and made his railway booking in advance for the purpose. But a little before the day of his departure, he had an attack of bronchitis, and had to abandon his plan of travelling to Jubbulpore. On 24th and 25th May, 1944, he went to Varangal to preside over a meeting of the Majlas Itehad-ul-Musalmeen. The weather was terrible, an awful heat wave held the whole State in its feverish grip. He returned from Varangal, stricken with a raging fever. For a month thereafter, he was almost bedridden. But his dauntless spirit could not allow him to take complete rest. On 25th June, 1944, he dictated letters as usual in the morning for about an hour. He then proceeded to address girl students at Madressah Arabiya Niswa, and having delivered a brief address returned home. He had lunch with his Begum, and retired for his afternoon nap. That evening, he left his home to go to the house of his friend, Justice Hashim Ali Khan, where he had been invited to dinner. According to custom, as soon as Nawab Saheb was seated in the house of Justice Hashim Ali, the servant brought the *hooka* and placed it respectfully before Nawab Saheb. He

just took one puff of the *hooka*, felt giddy, and was soon unconscious. It was not long before he breathed his last, having won immortality as a freedom fighter at the young age of thirty-nine.

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